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The Gothic Version of the Gospels

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The Gothic Version of the Gospels

A Study of its Style and Textual History

BY

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PREFACE

The writer's aim in the present work has been, first, to essay a general stylistic appreciation of the Gothic renderings of Greek words, and to establish, on the internal evidence afforded by the renderings of the Codex Argenteus, the methods adopted by the translator or translators of the original Version. This has been followed by a scrutiny of all passages where the Gothic rendering seems to depart from the basic norm, and of every rendering that varies from the usual rendering of the same Greek word or sense, or which is in any other way remarkable.

When, for instance, λεγειν is represented by *qiþan* 70.130.126. 178 = 504 times,[1] and by *rodjan* (which represents λαλειν 2.44.19. 13 = 78/80 times) in 0.1.3.0 = 4 instances, the four exceptions are striking enough to warrant an investigation. Similarly, λογος is regularly translated by *waurd* in 7.19 21.20 instances, the two exceptions being L. i. 29 *bi innatgahtai* and L. xvi. 2 *raþjon*. The former is an alteration after the Old Latin (p. 221); the latter is a correct rendering, as the Greek word here = account. Again, *ni andsaihvis andwairþi* is not a typical rendering of L. xx. 21 λαμβανεις προσωπον; it will be found to derive from the parallels M. xxii. 16 and Mk. xii. 14, where the Greek reads βλεπεις (p. 231).

On the basis of the results of this stylistic and text-critical scrutiny we proceed to the history of the Gothic Gospels in general, and of the Codex Argenteus in particular, so far as this can be determined from the internal evidence furnished by the preceding analysis.

The material on which the present work is founded consists of the Gothic renderings of all the nouns, verbs, and adjectives,

[1] The Gospels are always cited in the 'Western' order in which they occur in the C. A., viz. M., J., L., Mk., and the same order applies to figures giving the number of instances of any rendering in the four Gospels. Thus δαιμονιον = *unhulþo* 4.5.11.10 = 30/33 means that the Greek word occurs altogether 33 times, and is translated by *unhulþo* 4 times in M., 5 in J., 11 in Luke, and 10 in Mk., the other cases being represented by another rendering, in this case the masc. *unhulþa*. which occurs three times in Luke.

It was impossible, in such enumerations, to give references to chapter and verse in more than a very few instances, and unfortunately there exists no Greek-Gothic Glossary, a need which the writer hopes some day to supply; there are, however, two Gothic glossaries that aim at completeness; the *Glossarium* of Gabelentz and Loebe (1843) and Ernst Schulze's *Gotisches Glossar* (1847).

together with a very few adverbs, particles, and phrases in the Greek text of Streitberg's *Gotische Bibel* (1908). The pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and particles have been ignored as bearing principally on the syntax of the Gothic, which it is not the purpose of this book to examine.

I collected altogether 11,000 Gothic renderings of Greek words. All those renderings that called for examination or comment, and all passages not congruent with Streitberg's text, were duplicated on separate slips and fully collated with the apparatus of Tischendorf, Hermann von Soden, and Wordsworth-White's Vulgate. In special cases they were also collated with the Old Latin texts, particularly with the Codex Palatinus in the case of Luke, for which Hans v. Soden's *Das Lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* has proved in many ways invaluable. They were also compared with the renderings of the parallel passages extant in the C. A., and in any case with the parallels of the Greek and Latin texts. The number of passages thus specially examined amounted to 164.285.613.438 = 1,500.

The entire material therefore included readings, as distinct from renderings, which in any way failed to coincide with the Vorlage of Streitberg, including additions to and omissions from that text, as well as deviations in word-order, all of which were to have found a place in the present study. It was ultimately decided not to deal with this portion of the material here. The omissions and deviations in word-order seem to be largely stylistic and idiomatic; less so the additions, which deserve careful study and comparison with the Old Latin, especially in Luke.

As regards the departure of the Argentean text from the word-order of Streitberg's Greek, the instances were in any case not numerous: I have collected just over 100.[1] It must be borne in mind, however, that, but for Streitberg's frequent adoption of non-Κοινή readings, to agree with the Gothic, this number would be somewhat larger. Many of these differences are textually non-significant, being grammatical and stylistic, whilst, of the remainder, a number show the influence of the parallel passages and of the Old Latin. I have, however, included an account of the influence of parallel passages upon one another within the Gothic text itself, excluding, so far as possible, cases where the same confusion is instanced in the Greek or Latin text, or in both, together with

[1] The consideration of the pronouns, particles, &c., would further add to this number.

a section on the marginal and interpolated glosses, as forming a part of the internal evidence bearing on the history of the Gothic Bible.

The method of confining our scrutiny of Gothic renderings—other than such as present a deviation merely from the ordinary Gothic translation-norm—to instances where the Gothic text differs from what would be a word-for-word translation of the text of Streitberg, is sound wherever that text is certain, whatever the reason for the deviation may be. Where, however, the Greek text is not certain, then the coincidence with the Gothic, or the dissimilarity from it, will depend upon the choice that Streitberg has, rightly or wrongly, been led to make. Now with reference to such cases a word is necessary to justify the methodological soundness of our proceeding.

The Greek text of Streitberg is a Syrian (Antiochian) text with occasional Western readings, the problem being to ascertain which of the Western readings in the C. A. go back to the original translation (pp. 223–4; see also Appendix). Of this text von Soden says (p. 1469), 'Dann hat Ulfilas einen dem der Kappadokier und dem des Chrysostomus ganz analogen griechischen text zu grund gelegt, einen *K*-text, in den hin und her *I*-lesarten eingetragen waren.'

That Streitberg has not given us the very text from which 'Wulfila translated the Bible', goes without saying; the Greek Urtext cannot possibly be recovered so long as our knowledge of the Gothic Gospels is limited to a single manuscript. But Streitberg has given us a type of text which differs so little from the mother-text that must have lain before the translator or translators of the Gothic Gospels, that I am satisfied to base my work upon it, confident that the accuracy of my conclusions cannot materially be affected.

Since there is, in the C. A., only one point through which to draw a line of argument, the critic must, in the absence of intertextual comparison necessary to decide whether any Western reading goes back to the parent text, be guided by other considerations. Streitberg's method is very clearly explained on p. xlv (*Got. Bib.*). He says, 'Im einzelnen fall ist nicht immer mit voller sicherheit zu bestimmen, ob die abweichung des got. textes von *K erst auf der einwirkung von it beruht oder ob das *K fremde element schon in die griech. vorlage eingedrungen ist: die wahrscheinlichkeit spricht meist für die erste annahme, beson-

ders in dem fall, wenn dem text von it nur reine *H-hss. zur seite stehn. . . . Überall dort, wo griech. hss., deren lesarten auch sonst mitunter im got. texte nachweisbar sind, den wortlaut von it bieten, ist dieser wortlaut in den griech. evangelientext der ausgabe aufgenommen worden: es soll damit nur angedeutet werden, dass in diesen fällen die möglichkeit einer beeinflussung der griech. vorlage besteht. Der apparat gibt hier stets einen genauen überblick über den stand der dinge und gestattet so, die bedeutung der einzelnen faktoren gegeneinander abzuwägen.'

This principle is perfectly sound, and, speaking generally, any disagreement with Streitberg's choice will depend on the personal bias of the critic. The close lexicographical analysis upon which this work is based enables us, nevertheless, here and there to prefer, with some degree of certainty, a reading which Streitberg has relegated to the apparatus, as e.g. in M. xi. 23, where we prefer the K-reading καταβιβασθησῃ to B D it. καταβησῃ: see pp. 122–3 and Appendix.

Another interesting instance may be mentioned in anticipation (see p. 218), viz. Mk. iii. 29 ενοχος εστιν αιωνιου αμαρτηματος *fraiwaurhtais*, vg. latt. *delicti*: *iudicii* f r. The Syrian reading is κρισεως. Now the text of f has, since the Brixian, no doubt been further assimilated to the Vulgate with which it now agrees to the extent of 90 per cent. of its readings, so that a Vulgate reading in f is no indication that the same may be assumed for the Latin portion of what we shall call the Brixian Bilingual; where, however, f stands practically alone (r is cited by von Soden, but not W.-Wh.), we have more than a hint that the Brixian read *stauos*: *iudicii*, which decides us to restore the Syrian κρισεως in the text underlying the Gothic. See chap. xvi, § 2.

In most cases, however, where the C.A. presents a Western (= v. Soden's *I-) type of reading, it is impossible to say whether this derives from the Wulfilian Greek, or from a later revision with a Greek MS. of Western character, or from the Old Latin version.

There is no doubt that the Old Latin is in many cases responsible, as Streitberg acknowledges in the passage above quoted. Von Soden also says, 'Zuweilen trifft es sich, dass eine der für *I* nicht völlig sicheren lesarten bei Ulfilas erscheint. Leider kommt seiner stimme da oft genug kein volles gewicht zu, da zwar seine abhängigkeit von einem der anderen griech. vertreter der stelle nicht zu erweisen ist, seine beeinflussung durch lat., wo

diese lesarten sich meist auch finden, aber ausser zweifel steht' (*Schriften N. T.*, p. 1469).

In J. xi. 19 *bi Marþan*, the preposition *bi* testifies to the Κοινη reading περι (Str. ad loc.). A stroke of the pen, however, would remove all trace of this, and we should then hesitate to adopt the Κοινη-text here, whilst Streitberg would take the Western reading into his Vorlage.

In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to go beyond this, with the exception of the few cases where the results of the present inquiry have enabled us to settle some of the doubtful instances; it is not, however, to be expected that the internal evidence of a unique codex should take us very far in this direction.

Our uncertainty is increased by the unhomogeneous character of the Argentean text, of which von Soden says (p. 1469), 'Doch sei bemerkt, dass die mischung[1] sich mit keinem der nachgewiesenen mischtypen deckt, weder mit Π, noch mit K^a, noch mit Φ, noch mit einem andern, wenn auch berührungen namentlich mit K^a nicht selten sind.' This is just what we should expect to find in a text which, originally translated from a Greek text of however definite type, had since, and at different times, been exposed to the influence of Western texts, with chance presiding over the admixture of the Western readings. (See also pp. 223-4.)

Reverting to Streitberg's text and its identity with, or difference from the C. A., so far as that affects the method of our inquiry, four combinations are possible :—

1. Streitberg and C. A. both present the K-text. This is generally the case and, the Gothic offering no unusual features, such renderings have not been further commented upon. The *a priori* probability that the original Greek presented the K-text is in every case comparatively strong, and I have yet to learn of an instance where the Gothic has discarded an original I-reading for the received text. Such a revisional intrusion of the Κοινη is of course nowhere impossible, yet beyond proof, and where the C. A. presents the Syrian text, we can at present do no more than Streitberg has done, and oppose to it the same reading in Greek.

2. Streitberg presents a K-reading where the C. A. agrees with I. Such cases are all included in this material.

3. Conversely, an Argentean Κοινη-reading is opposed by a

[1] von Soden's remarks refer to the Vorlage, the character of which he takes to be preserved unaltered in the C. A.

Western reading in the Greek text. Such a case, of course, nowhere occurs.

4. Streitberg and C. A. both present the Western text. This combination of readings, unless the Gothic rendering itself presents any unusual feature, naturally escapes observation where scrutiny is confined to differences, between the Greek and Gothic, of readings and renderings. These cases, however, are easily collected from the apparatus subjoined to Streitberg's Greek text. This has been done, and the results of my collation will be found in the Appendix.

The illustrations selected from the material are copious rather than eclectic, and include border-line cases which may seem to be but doubtful instances, as in chapters vii, viii, and xiii. In chapter vii, especially, a number of renderings have been mentioned as merely rare, without possessing any further significance. The comparative value of all these will, it is hoped, be sufficiently apparent.

Among the more notable results of this study, one of the chief is the identification of the Palatinian Bilingual, which emerges from a comparison of the Argentean Luke with the 'Europeanized African' Codex Palatinus. The position of the Brixian Bilingual has been reconsidered in the light of Jerome's Epistle to Sunnia and Fretela and a re-examination of the text of the *Praefatio*, as the result of which the nature and purpose of the *waldhres* appear in a new light.

The large number of illustrative examples, especially in chapters vii–ix, xiii, xvi, xvii, provide a commentary to many passages involving questions of style, interpretation and text, ranging from tentative suggestion to established fact. To a few of those in the former category alternative suggestions are found in different chapters, where it is hoped the cross-references may not be wanting. Among the more important discussions of particular passages may be mentioned the conflations of L. ix. 43 (pp. 212 15) and L. ix. 2 (pp. 216 18), and the much debated question of the reading *wisan* (= *waila wisan*) in L. xv. 24, which is dealt with at length on pp. 110–13.

Of the examinations of the renderings of particular Greek words, the most important, stylistically, are those of ερχεσθαι (pp. 49 ff.), γιγνωσκειν (58-60), ειναι (64 5), and, historically, that of αρχιερευς (chap. xiii, § 1). Chapters xvi and xvii provide valuable evidence of the various textual changes, within the Gothic text itself, with

which we are so familiar in the MSS. of the *Graeca Veritas* and in the witnesses of the Latin Versions. A number of these corruptions can be shown to be subsequent to the Brixian Bilingual.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging my grateful thanks to the Senate of the University of London, who made a grant from the Publication Fund towards the cost of printing, and to A. W. Green, Esq., of Ilford, for very generously doubling the University's grant.

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G. W. S. F.

January 1926.

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ABBREVIATIONS

C. A. = Codex Argenteus.
E. B. = Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch.*
G. B. = Streitberg, *Die Gotische Bibel, Erster Teil.*
L. N. T. = Hans von Soden, *Das Lat. Neue Testament.*
O. L. B. T. = *Old Latin Biblical Texts.*
PBB. = Paul und Braune, *Beiträge.*
ZfdPh. = *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie.*
von Soden = Hermann von Soden, *Schriften des neuen Testaments.*
W. B. = Streitberg, *Die Gotische Bibel, Zweiter Teil.*

PART I. STYLISTIC CRITICISM

A. THE WULFILIAN TECHNIQUE

I

THE BASIC NORM

§ 1. *Word-order. The unit of translation.*

It is an indispensable preliminary to the due appreciation of the merits and demerits of the Gothic Bible Version that we should thoroughly understand the methods followed in turning the Greek text, for the first time, into a Germanic tongue.

The fundamental principle underlying the translation is the systematic correspondence of the Gothic text with the Greek, word for word, and in precisely the same order. Thus the fifth chapter of Matthew, vv. 15–48, with which the Codex Argenteus begins, follows the Greek text almost word for word. There are four interpolations: + *swa* v. 19 (thus b c h m k Cypr.), + *allis* v. 39 (from v. 34), + *ana* v. 45 (from the context), + *ainans* v. 46 (from v. 47). Verse 44 is corrupt. Note also ου μη = *ni* (vv. 18, 26), *ni þau* (v. 20).

No other feature of the Gothic Version is more characteristic of the translator's style than this. Every word of the Greek text, excepting the definite article, is normally represented in the Gothic, even particles like μεν, δε, αν, and others which, being peculiar to Greek, must almost necessarily, when reproduced in any other language, be unidiomatic, meaningless, or unintelligible.[1] Cf. e.g., L. xvi. 21 αλλα και οι κυνες κτλ. *akei jah hundos atrinnandans bilaigodedun banjos is* (A.V. moreover the dogs came, R.V. yea even), where *akei jah* certainly does not idiomatically translate αλλα και, and most probably conveyed no very definite meaning in Gothic.[2]

[1] e.g. αν in the apodosis = *þau(h)*, αἰῤῥαυ (otherwise = ἤ) 19/20 times. In Lk. xix. 23, where the protasis is implied, αν is untranslated. Cf. also Bernhardt, *Vulfila*, introd., p. xxxi, 'Eigentümlich griechische partikeln wie αν, μεν, γε, περ, werden nicht übergangen, wenngleich nicht immer sinngetreu wiedergegeben.'

[2] Cf. Ags. Gosp. *ac hundas comon*; Wyclif: but and houndis camen; Tyndale: neverthelesse the dogges cam.

Slavish as the Gothic Version is in its adherence to the word-order of the original, it does not go beyond a certain limit of tolerance. In M. v. 31, for instance, we have ερρεθη δε οτι *qiþanuh þan ist* (not *qiþan ist uh þan*), since *þan* must stand second in its sentence (cf. *E. B.* § 333), *-uh* being enclitic. Compare, also, Mk. v. 8 ελεγεν γαρ *unte qaþ*, with Mk. xiii. 19 εσονται γαρ *wairþand auk*; *unte* introduces its sentence, whilst *auk* always stands second, rarely third (cf. *E. B.* § 339), like the Latin *sed* and *autem*. Similarly, in M. v. 32, εγω δε is represented by *iþ ik*, because *iþ* always stands first, with one exception (L. vii. 39: see *E. B.* § 334).

Other disturbing factors are the influence of the Old Latin Version, of parallel passages differing slightly in word-order or diction, of contextual assimilations and, to some extent, of Greek MSS. with which the Gothic was from time to time revised.

In whatever proportion, however, these deviations from a strictly word-for-word translation may be traced to the requirements of Gothic grammar, style, or idiom on the one hand, and to external influences of various kinds on the other, they are certainly as unimportant as they are, relatively, few in number. The number of passages that I have collected in which the word-order of the Gothic differs from that of Streitberg's text just exceeds 100. Since a number of these can be shown to have been influenced by Western and Latin texts, it is seen that the original translation was even more slavish in its word-order than the text of the C. A. We may say, then, that the Gothic translator has followed the principle of *verbum de verbo* up to a point beyond which complete symmetry would become intolerable and the resulting translation unintelligible.[1]

Exactly how far the Goth has stretched his own rules of speech in this respect it is very difficult to say, nor is it within the scope of the present inquiry. The many essays that have been devoted to this question reflect

[1] Alfred Koppitz, *Gotische Wortstelluug* (*ZfdPh.* xxxii. 433 ff.) says (p. 434), 'Nach meiner meinung hält sich Wulfila (trotz gegenteiliger ansicht z. b. Friedrichs, Moureks u. a.) geradezu ängstlich genau an die vorlage; in der wortstellung mindestens ist dies zur gewissheit zu erheben. Es soll damit keineswegs behauptet werden, dass die stellungen, wie wir sie vorfinden, griechisch und daher ungotisch wären; es war wol der usus überhaupt ein freierer, aber ob der übersetzer die worte auch so gefügt hätte, wenn er ohne vorlage geschrieben hätte, ist wol mehr als fraglich. Wir können oft mehrere seiten lesen, ohne dass (ausser *iþ* oder *þan* u. dgl.) auch nur ein einziges wort seinen platz gegenüber dem griechischen geändert hätte.' Cf. also *E. B.* § 284, 'Die wortstellung des gotischen textes wird in weitestem umfang durch die vorlage bestimmt, die abweichungen sind verhältnismässig spärlich und wenig bedeutsam; sie sind durch die intonation veranlasst. Es ist in diesen umständen schwer, zu umfassenden gesicherten ergebnissen zu gelangen.' Also Gabel.-Loebe, *Proleg.*, p. xxv, 'Ulfilam religiosissime sequentem textus graeci auctoritatem verbum de verbo reddidisse omnes fere consentiunt, sed eam fidem servilem plerique tamque superstitiosam cogitaverunt, ut vituperandane sit magis quam laudanda, in incerto relinquatur.' See also Stolzenburg, *ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 384, quoted on p. 81.

a great variety of opinion.[1] Some writers are inclined to credit the Gothic language with a considerable degree of similarity to Greek in respect of word-order, idiom, and syntax, whilst Prof. Curme[2] has gone so far as to assert that the language of the Gothic Bible represents good idiomatic Gothic of Wulfila's day.

Certainly the text of the Gothic Bible, which is, according to Fr. Kauffmann and Streitberg, 'ohne die quellen unverständlich', makes intolerable reading to the Germanist, who, on first acquaintance, can only compare it with the clumsiest interlinears of the West Germanic dialects. If, after some experience, he learns to read the text with pleasure, and to appreciate the beauty of the language and the wonderful skill of the translator, it is only because his mind has become attuned to the sound of Gothic words set to Hellenic syntax.

It would indeed be strange if it were possible to render good, hellenistic Greek almost word for word into the colloquial speech of one of the Germanic dialects. The laws of probability alone are against it. What are we, as students of the Germanic dialects, to think of the following specimens of Wulfilian workmanship?—

J. xi. 6 εν ῳ ην τοπῳ *in þammei was stada.*

J. vi. 22 ειδον οτι πλοιαριον αλλο ουκ ην εκει ει μη εν *sehun þatei skip anþar ni was jainar alja ain.*

L. iii. 18 πολλα μεν ουν και ετερα παρακαλων *managuþ-þan jah anþar þrafstjands.*

L. xvii. 17 οι δε εννεα που *iþ þai niun þar?* Cf. vg. *et novem ubi sunt;* Ags. Gospels *hwær synt þa nigone.*

Mk. iv. 20 επι την γην την καλην σπαρεντες *ana airþai þizai godon saianans.*

M. v. 39 επι την δεξιαν σου σιαγονα *bi taihswon þeina kinnu.*

M. xxvii. 19 μηδεν σοι και τῳ δικαιῳ εκεινῳ *ni waiht þus jah þamma garaihtin.*

Are these instances examples of idiomatic Gothic? They certainly look much more like interlinear translations.

This fundamental principle of the Wulfilian translation-technique also resulted in the imitation of hellenisms that must have sounded strange, to say the least, to the ears of the Gothic warriors, especially to those born and bred in Italy, Gaul, or Spain, who knew no other tongue but Gothic and Latin. Cf., for instance,

L. i. 62 ενενευον . . . το τι αν θελοι καλεισθαι αυτον *gabandwidedun . . . þata*

[1] An excellent summary of the conclusions of various writers (down to 1901) on the translation-technique of Wulfila will be found at the beginning of the study by H. Stolzenburg, on the same subject, in *ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 145 ff. (1905).

[2] See G. O. Curme, *Is the Gothic Bible Gothic?* in *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, x. 151 ff., 335 ff. (1911).

haiwa wildedi haitan ina. The Goth might profitably have dispensed with *þata.*

Mk. v. 23 εσχατως εχει *aftumist habaiþ.*

ibid. λεγων οτι το θυγατριον μου εσχατως εχει, ινα ελθων κτλ. *ei qimands lagjais.*

Mk. viii. 12 αμην λεγω υμιν ει δοθησεται . . . σημειον *jabai gibaidau*; vg. f *si dabitur.*

Mk. x. 33 (ηρξατο αυτοις λεγειν) . . . οτι ιδου αναβαινομεν εις Ιερ. *þatei sai usgaggam in Iairusaulwma.*

Examples of such turns of speech abound, and their discussion occupies an important place in Gothic syntax. But to what extent this syntax represents the idiomatic speech of the Gothic people, we are not always in a position to say.[1]

Although the word-order of the Greek text rigidly determined that of the Gothic Version, at the same time obtruding much of Hellenic idiom and syntax upon the barbarian Scripture, the Goth enjoyed a greater freedom in applying the rules of his native grammar to individual words and phrases. If the syntax of the sentence was largely Greek, the accidence was mainly Gothic.

Thus M. v. 46 τινα μισθον εχετε *þo mizdono habaiþ?* The Goth might have written *þo mizdon* (accus.), but having duly represented τινα, μισθον in their Greek order, by two Gothic words, the Goth was free to alter the phrasal structure to suit himself, and, treating *þo* as a pronoun requiring a partitive genitive according to the rules of his grammar, opposed to the accusative μισθον the gen. plur. *mizdono.* The pronoun *þas* appears only once adjectivally: *þas manna* L. xv. 4 (*E. B.* § 282).

Similarly the Greek historic present is usually represented by the past tense in Gothic (*E. B.* § 299); Greek singulars become Gothic plurals, and conversely; the preposition in Gothic governs nouns in the case appropriate to Gothic usage, not following the Greek; the numerals are nouns constructed with a partitive genitive; and the like.

A few instances will illustrate this.

Mk. viii. 2 σπλαγχνιζομαι επι τον οχλον *infeinoda* (past) *du þizai managein* (dative).

Mk. iii. 28 παντα αφεθησεται τα αμαρτηματα *allata* (sing.) *afletada þata frawaurhte* (part. gen.).

L. xv. 29 τοσαυτα ετη δουλευω σοι *swa filu jere* (part. gen.) *skalkinoda* (past) *þus.*

J. xv. 19 ο κοσμος αν το ιδιον εφιλει *aiþþau so manaseds swesans* (logical plural) *frijodedi* (subjunctive).

[1] Cf. *E. B.* § 234. 2.

J. xvii. 5 προ του τυν κοσμον ειναι *faurizei sa fairhus wesi* (temporal cl. for infin. constr.).

M. viii. 4 ορα μηδενι ειπῃς *saih ei mann ni qiþais*; here *ei* is syntactically necessary, as it is in L. i. 20 αχρι ης ημερας γενηται ταυτα *und þana dag ei wairþai þata.*

Mk. v. 9 τι ονομα σοι is rendered *ƕa namo þein* instead of *ƕa namo þus*, a construction just as likely to have been idiomatic Gothic, or, failing that, to have been at least intelligible, as M. viii. 29 τι ημιν και σοι *ƕa uns jah þus*,[1] whilst in L. viii. 30 we find τι σοι εστιν ονομα rendered *ƕa ist namo þein*, which doubtless represents the true Gothic form of question which, in a free idiomatic translation, would have been the reading of Mk. v. 9. We have perhaps in the text of Luke the revised version of an earlier and more literal rendering.

Nor does the Goth necessarily translate every Greek word by the corresponding part of speech, or by the same word-form in Gothic. Thus, προδοτης is rendered by *galewjands*, αρχων by *reiks*. In L. v. 4 εις αγραν is rendered, idiomatically, by *du fiskon*.

J. ix. 11 απελθων δε και νιψαμενος ανεβλεψα *iþ ik galaiþ jah biþwahands ussaƕ*. Here απελθων δε could just as well have been translated *iþ galeiþands*, or *galeiþands þan*, and this, indeed, may have been the very words used in an earlier stage of the Version; nevertheless the sense of απελθων being competently represented by *galaiþ*, the translator's responsibility to his original is fulfilled, and the closer syntactical relations are at his discretion.

In L. i. 21 και εθαυμαζον εν τῳ χρονιζειν αυτον εν τῳ ναῳ *jah sildaleikidedun ƕa latidedi ina in þizai alh*, the principle is carried a little further, and the group εν τῳ χρονιζειν αυτον appears, idiomatically, as 'what might be keeping him', that is, 'why he was tarrying'.

It will be seen that the Goth, in his choice of renderings, was accurate, studious of his native idiom, and in no wise inclined to imitate Greek word-idiom or accidence.

The Gothic translation is thus certainly not an interlinear version, although one is tempted to wonder whether the text that has come down to us did not owe its humble beginnings to a strictly interlinear gloss of which we have, in the Rushworth and Lindisfarne Gospels, a conspicuous example.

[1] *Ags. Gosp.* Mk. v. 9, L. viii. 30 *hwæt is þin nama*; M. viii. 29 *hwæt ys þe and us gemæne.*

[2] Stolzenburg (*ZfdPh.* xxxvii) has analysed the grammatical (pp. 359-66) and stylistic (pp. 352-9) deviations of the Gothic from what would have been an interlinear translation, but the reasons that S. gives for such deviations must be received with care.

However this may be, we have, in the C. A., a translation in which the syntax is largely Greek, the accidence chiefly Gothic, and if the Goth has often refrained from following the tendencies of his native idiom, he has not hesitated to apply, where necessary, the rules of Gothic grammar. It is one thing boldly to imitate a foreign phrase like τι ημιν και σοι which, by its very strangeness or 'mystery', compels interpretation; it is another matter to commit a syntactical solecism by omitting a particle which the Goth felt to be essential, or by constructing a preposition with a case that was impossible in his language.

Yet even when we have taken into account the changes in word-order, and the various additions and omissions—all of which are very largely due to latinizing revisions and to the influence of the parallels and of contextual contacts—as well as the syntactical adjustments which the Goth has felt it necessary to make, we find ourselves in presence of a translation where the principle of *verbum de verbo* is applied in a very marked degree. Jülicher, in an article that appeared in 1912,[1] says: 'Der Gote ist zwar nicht im strikten wortsinn eine interlinearversion, aber doch eine der strengsten wörtlichkeit, soweit es die sprache zuliess, sich befleissigende übersetzung.' The last qualification is, if anything, understated. He continues: 'Für einen übersetzer heiliger schriften um 350 versteht sich dies von selbst; es ist die grösste tat des Hieronymus, ja seine einzig grosse gewesen, dass er bei der Bibel das prinzip des *verbum e verbo* allmählich überwunden hat.'

Whilst the Gothic Gospels carry this principle further than the Latin or later European versions, it is well to bear in mind that none of the Western versions, even down to our day, is free from hellenisms.[2] The Christian Bible-reader has never demanded literary qualities from the Testament of his Faith; he has taken it as he found it, protesting only when the translator deviated more than a very little from the words of the original.

Jerome was accused of *falsationes* because he aimed at rendering the

[1] In *ZfdAlt.* liii. 369–81, replying to Fr. Kauffmann's attack (*ZfdPh.* xliii. 118 ff.) on a previous article by Jülicher (*ZfdAlt.* lii. 365 ff.), in which the latter had criticized the Greek text which Streitberg adopts in his *Gotische Bibel.* Jülicher's criticisms are based on a misconception of the nature and history of the Gothic text, but Kauffmann errs in his failure or unwillingness to recognize Jülicher's main purpose, which is to protest against Streitberg's Greek text being 'canonized' and accepted as the vulgate Greek text underlying the Gothic, a protest which is reasonable enough.

[2] Cf. Hans von Soden, *L. N. T.*, p. 130, 'Alle Bibelübersetzungen gräzisieren'; ibid., p. 121, 'die beobachtung warnte, dass k bis ins fehlerhafte, ja unmögliche hinein gräzisiert.' The English versions are similarly full of latinisms; cf. Wyclif, Rom. xiii. 12 caste we awei the werkis of derknessis (*opera tenebrarum*) and be we clothid in the armeris of ligt (*arma lucis*). The A. V. retains some of the latinisms of Wyclif and Tyndale; cf. *Cambr. Hist. Eng. Lit.* IV. ii. 38–9.

sententiam rather than the *ipsissima verba* of the N. T. Greek; yet even he dared very little.[1]

H. Stolzenburg (loc. cit., p. 387) writes to the same effect. He says: 'E. Friedrichs meint, eine solche übersetzung, die die eigenheiten der got. sprache aufgiebt und voll ist von gräzismen, hätte ihren zweck völlig verfehlt. Was sollte eine Bibel für das got. volk, die von diesem volke gar nicht verstanden wurde? Stellt man diese frage, so macht man zwei voraussetzungen, die beide jedesfalls unrichtig sind. Einmal liegt darin die ansicht verborgen, die sich auch sonst deutlich ausgesprochen findet, als habe die got. bibelübersetzung etwa dieselben zwecke gehabt und sei in demselben sinne abgefasst wie die bibelübersetzung Luthers, eine parallele die durchaus abgelehnt werden muss. Zweitens nimmt man an, dass nur eine im volkstümlichen gotisch abgefasste Bibel im gottesdienst ihren zweck hätte erfüllen können. Auch dass ist nicht der fall, ich erinnere an die stilformen der deutschen Bibel des mittelalters; vielmehr passt dass, was A. Deissmann in seinem aufsatze: *Die hellenisierung des semitischen monotheismus* über die Septuaginta sagt, auch auf die got. bibelübersetzung:—

'"Die geschichte der religion überhaupt lehrt, dass das unverstandene in der religion den durch die aufklärung noch nicht seicht und blasiert gemachten menschen gerade als unverstandenes wie ein mysterium überschauert. Deshalb wird mancher leser der Septuaginta sogar die wirklichen syntaktischen semitismen nicht als griechische sprachfehler empfunden haben; was ihm von solchen verrenkten sätzen verständlich war, klang ihm altertümlich, orakelhaft, und was er nicht verstand, das überschlug er oder überhörte er."' Stolzenburg is quite right. These words exactly apply to the hellenizing Gothic Version.

Nor is the Authorized Version free from the tradition of a medieval translation-technique. 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof,' a turn of speech that probably millions do not fully understand, is just such a traditional word-for-word rendering of αρκετον τη ημερᾳ η κακια αυτης, more literal even than the Vulgate *sufficit diei malitia sua*.[2] The A. V. rendering is undeniably obscure, if not indeed unintelligible, without interpretation, to the masses; yet these unquestioningly accept the words as a well-known passage from the Bible, and get used to seeing and hearing them freely cited in literary and colloquial use, no doubt very generally misunderstanding and misapplying them.

It is well to remember this as we criticize the Gothic translation-

[1] Cf. *L. N. T.*, p. 350, note 4, 'Mit den groben gräzismen räumt erst Hieronymus wirklich auf, wenn auch längst nicht vollständig.' See also below, p. 201, note.

[2] Whence Wyclif, 'for it sufficith to the dai, his owne malice.' The A. V. follows Cranmer and the Rheims Version.

technique in respect of either its philological accuracy or its literary qualities. The Gothic rendering of this passage, which is wanting in the C. A., was probably *ganah þana dag unþiuþ is*, which is to us—and, who knows, was to the Goth also—'ohne die quellen unverständlich.'

The methods of his time did not permit the Goth to turn Greek phrase and sentence into Gothic without doing violence to the idiom and syntax of his native tongue, constraining him to transfer or transpose rather than to transform,[1] leaving him free only in the choice of his renderings of individual words. And it was well, perhaps, for Christianity, that this was so. We prefer to see, in these crudely confining methods, the wisdom of inspiration rather than the ignorance of the Brazen Age.

It is impossible, however, altogether to exclude interpretation from entering into even the most literal translation, and, as will be seen, the Goth has managed, even within the narrow limits imposed upon him, to intrude much of his own interpretation into the text; more so, in certain cases, than the limitations of the English language made it possible for the Revisers to do.

It is easy to see how any freedom of translation in the modern sense would have resulted in the multiplication of versions in which the Word of God would ultimately have become choked by the exuberance of the well-meaning but ever divergent interpretations of man; false and true, good and bad in inseparable confusion. As it was, exegesis was kept strictly separate from translation, and the bitter battles that were waged over interpretation of the words of the Greek text left at any rate the versions untouched.

As an instance of the contrary we have the Philoxenian Syriac, 'the most literary in form of all the translations of the N. T. into this language', which was written in free and idiomatic Syriac. The Philoxenian was, however, superseded a century later by the Harkleian. 'Possibly it was this very freedom of treatment that led to the revision of the translation after little more than a century . . . The free rendering of Polycarp was converted into extreme literalness, the Syriac being forced, even to the extent of doing violence to the language, into precise accordance with the Greek.'[2] Jerome, conservatively though he proceeded in the revision of the Latin Version of the N. T., was in advance of his time, and his critics deserve some measure of sympathy. They were conservative, but their methods were safe.

[1] The free renderings that the Goth permitted himself are illustrated in chapter x.
[2] Kenyon, *Text. Crit. of the N.T.*, pp. 165, 6.

For the translator of the Greek Gospels into Gothic, therefore, the unit of translation was neither the sentence nor the phrase, but THE WORD; and the critic who would form a just estimate of the translator's work must be prepared to ignore what may seem to him the intolerable tactical and syntactical concessions resulting from the translation-technique approved in the fourth century, whilst counting it to the translator's credit wherever he has succeeded, by skilfully grafting the vigorous scions of his own speech on to the exotic word-stock underlying his translation, in imparting life, colour, and beauty to a mother-growth which must otherwise have become barren and dead.

§ 2. *Uniformity of rendering.*

The second characteristic of the Wulfilian technique, although not so rigidly maintained, is nevertheless a very noticeable feature, namely, the uniformity with which the same Greek word has been translated by the same Gothic word, wherever the sense permitted. For instance, λεγειν appears as *qiþan* 504 times out of 508 (besides 5 times *haitans* = ο λεγομενος), whilst λαλειν = *rodjan* 78/80. Ευλογειν is always *þiuþjan* 15/15, although **wailaqiþan* would have been a characteristic and reasonable rendering (cf. ευλογια = *wailaqiss*, 2 Cor. ix. 5).

This uniformity is observable not only in the case of nouns like πατηρ, πετρα, ονομα, αιμα, οδος, κτλ., where uniformity is to be expected, but also in the case of verbs for which synonyms could easily have been found. Examples are πορευεσθαι = *gaggan* 45/50; περιπατειν = *gaggan* 16/19, although *þarbon* 3/19 seems to be synonymous. Οικος = *gards* 36/37, although οικια = *gards* 30, *razn* 11/41, there being no appreciable difference in sense. Ομολογειν = *andhaitan* 7/7, προσκυνειν = *inweitan* 8/8, οικοδομειν = *gatimrjan* 12/12.

It is the same with words that are instanced in the C. A. but twice or three times—the corresponding Greek being often rare also—where, more often than not, we find the renderings are uniform. Such are e. g. θεμελιουν = *gasuljan* 1.0.1.0, υποκριτης = *liuts* 3.0.1.1, κοπον παρεχειν = *usþriutan* 0.0.1.1, κρημνος = *driuso* 1.0.1.1, ονειδιζειν = *idweitjan* 2.0.1.1, and the like. In these cases the levelling-out of parallels has played some part; see chapter xvii § 3.

A number of Greek words are represented by dual and, apparently, synonymous renderings, but their number is not great, and it is at least open to question whether they all go back to the original version, or whether many are not rather due to the later revisors and the development of the Wisigothic dialect.[1]

[1] See pp. 90, 157, 242.

There are, of course, numerous instances where the Greek word is translated by an unusual or exceptional rendering; these cases have been collected in chapter vii. Many of these are to be explained in one way or another, and cases are comparatively infrequent where the aberration from the norm appears to be due to arbitrary choice. This observation does not concord with the opinion of many critics, who are rather prone to exaggerate the variation of rendering exhibited by the translator of the Gothic Gospels. Bernhardt, indeed, defends the emendation to **tibr* of the much-discussed *aibr* (M. v. 23) on the ground that it was Wulfila's custom to vary the translation of recurrent Greek words.[1] In other instances, Kauffmann has explained the recurrence of Gothic words and syllables—usually imposed by the translation-technique of the Goth—as a systematic stylistic device (see below, pp. 28 ff.). What the Wulfilian technique affords of stylistic variation and dual renderings will be found collected, it is hoped fairly completely, in chapters v and vi.

With reference to the general uniformity of Gothic renderings it will be worth while to quote from a special study on the uniformity of the renderings in Matthew by R. J. Kellogg.[2] He says (p. 42), 'Wulfila not only habitually retains recurrent terms unvaried in his Gothic translation, but also habitually levels Greek variations in the expression of recurrent ideas, and that not only where the Gothic may have lacked a variant term, but also in instances where good variant terms were readily at hand if Wulfila had cared to use them.' It is true that Kellogg has examined the Gospel that shows this characteristic uniformity and simplicity of rendering in the most marked degree,[3] but the same applies, generally, to the other Gospels. Again (p. 44):—'If we extend our count to the whole Gospel of Matthew, those portions extant in Gothic (about one-third of the whole) show 705 unvaried translations of recurrent Greek words against 21 variations'; and, finally (p. 48), 'Greek recurrences 726, Gothic non-variant renderings 705, Gothic levellings of Greek variants 35, total Gothic recurrences 740. . . . The following ratios result: against all variation 740 : 21, or over 35/1; against synonymous variation 755 : 6, or over 125 : 1; against rhetorical variation 761/0.'[4]

It has seemed desirable in this connexion to take a census of the

[1] See Bernhardt, *Vulfila*, ad loc.

[2] *Gothic Rendering of Greek Recurrents, with especial reference to Matth.* v. 23, in *Mod. Phil.* (Chicago), vol. xiii (1915), pp. 35–58.

[3] See pp. 158 ff.

[4] There are, nevertheless, instances of what can hardly be anything else than stylistic variation, even in Matthew. See chapter v.

Greek words whose renderings have been examined in this book. The writer gives the figures for what they are worth, neither claiming for them complete accuracy, since that is in the nature of the case unattainable, nor wishing to exaggerate their importance on the question of uniformity of rendering.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
α	23 17 8	4 3 1	5 6 0	16 11 5	10 6 0	66
β	11 9 0	2 3 0	7 0 0	8 8 0	3 9 0	44
γ	10 8 1	0 2 0	2 1 0	2 7 1	2 1 3	15
δ	14 13 4	2 2 1	3 2 0	14 10 3	3 3 0	50
ε	21 10 6	3 1 2	8 0 0	8 2 5	6 2 0	36
ζ	5 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	4 1 0	0 0 0	10
η	5 3 0	1 1 0	0 0 0	3 0 2	2 1 0	5
θ	10 12 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	6 7 1	1 1 0	19
ι	5 7 2	0 0 1	4 2 1	3 1 0	2 3 1	16
κ	23 18 9	4 2 1	3 0 1	18 18 3	4 3 0	76
λ	9 11 2	1 1 0	4 0 0	10 4 4	6 2 0	29
μ	9 13 9	0 3 1	3 0 0	6 5 4	1 2 0	40
ν	6 9 1	2 0 1	0 0 0	2 4 0	0 0 0	16
ξ	2 2 0	0 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	0 0 0	1
ο	12 12 6	0 1 0	0 0 0	4 10 2	2 3 2	36
π	22 29 7	2 1 2	6 3 3	11 12 11	9 3 0	58
ρ	1 2 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	3 4 0	1 2 0	7
σ	14 16 2	2 2 0	1 1 1	14 22 5	3 7 1	55
τ	10 5 3	3 0 0	5 1 0	10 8 2	7 2 1	32
υ	1 4 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 1 1	1 0 1	3
φ	14 5 0	1 0 1	3 0 0	5 8 2	7 0 0	33
χ	4 6 2	0 1 1	1 1 1	3 3 3	3 2 0	26
ψ	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 3 1	2 1 0	4
ω	1 1 1	0 0 0	0 1 0	0 0 1	0 0 0	4

Total Verbs	232	29	57	152	75	= 545
,, Nouns	214	23	18	149	44	= 448
,, Adj. &c.	65	12	8	56	9	= 150
Altogether	511	64	83	357	128	681 = 1,824

In the preceding table, the five columns A–E contain each three sets of figures representing, respectively, the number of Greek verbs, nouns, and adjectives, the last including a few adverbs, particles, and phrases.

Column A contains the number of words that are represented by only one Gothic word, allowing one or two exceptions in the case of less common words, and correspondingly more in words that are of frequent occurrence. Where words are used in two or more distinct senses, as e. g. απτεσθαι (touch) = *attekan*, απτειν (burn) = *tandjan*, or οιδα = *witan* (*scire*) and *kunnan* (*cognoscere*), each sense has been counted

as a word with uniform rendering. Such cases are, however, not numerous. Rarely, pairs of words like διασκορπιζειν = *distahjan* 0.0.3.0 and σκορπιζειν = *distahjan* 0.2.0.0 have been combined into δια)σκορπιζειν = *distahjan* 0.2.3.0 and placed in column A, rather than that the two words should appear in column D.

Column B contains the dual renderings and C the multiple renderings, the latter including a number of words[1] that very fairly might have been considered as exhibiting uniformity of rendering. The benefit of the doubt has here, as elsewhere, been given against the thesis we are developing.

Columns D and E refer to Greek words that are instanced only three times or twice; if uniformly rendered, they appear in column D; otherwise in E. The latter, again, includes instances that might fairly have been ignored, as e. g. λυτρωσις = *lapons* L ii. 38, *uslauseins* L. i. 68, the first instance being due, not to 'selective variation', but to error.[2] The απαξ λεγομενα appear in column F, and are ignored.

The grand total of all words is 1,824. This figure, however, includes a number of words that were counted twice or three times; after making allowance for these, I make the net total of Greek words whose renderings are examined in this book to be 1,788, whilst the Gothic words by which these are collectively represented number, as appears from a count of those Gospel-words in Streitberg's glossary with which we are concerned, 1,878.

As a rough check on the number of Greek words whose renderings have been examined, the following estimate of the Greek words we might expect to find represented in the extant portions of the C. A. may be of interest. From a count by J. Ritchie Smith [*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, ii (1891), 647 ff.][3] it appears that the total vocabulary of the four Gospels, and the words peculiar to each, amount to

	Total Vocab. of	Wds. Peculiar to
Matthew	1,542	111
John	1,396	212
Luke	2,697	715
Mark	1,259	77

Ritchie's figures referring to Luke include the Acts, but H. J. Cadbury estimates the total vocabulary of the Gospel of Luke alone to be,

[1] c. g. αφιεναι, βαλλειν, γιγνεσθαι, γιγνωσκειν, ειδον, ερχεσθαι, λαμβανειν, πορευεσθαι, τιθεναι, συλλαβειν.

[2] See p. 131.

[3] For this reference and the other information I am indebted to H. J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (*Harvard Theol. Studies*, vi (1920), pp. 1–3).

approximately, 1,800, the words peculiar to that Gospel numbering 260 (p. 2, loc. cit.).

It is probable that the total vocabulary of the four Gospels will not greatly exceed this figure, and we may expect all these to be represented in the C. A., excepting a proportion of those words peculiar to each Gospel. Taking the maximum net figure 1,540 (= 1,800 − 260), and adding to this the fractions of 111, 212, 260 and 77 representing respectively what remains of each Argentean Gospel (see p. 83, note), we get 1,540 + 28 + 131 + 172 + 66 = 1,937. Such a figure is reasonably consistent with the estimated number—1,788—of Greek words here examined, having regard to the fact that the pronouns, conjunctions, particles, and almost all the adverbs and prepositions were ignored.

Returning to the table on page 25, it will be seen that, if we ignore columns D and E, the uniform renderings total 511/658 = 77·6 per cent. There is no reason, however, why columns D and E should not be included, especially since the number of varied renderings in E is overstated, whilst, of the uniform renderings in D, a large number occur singly, one in each Gospel. The result is in any case the same, for the uniform renderings of columns A and D combined total 868/1,143 = 76·0 per cent.

Similar calculations made for the verbs and nouns separately yield the following figures:—

Verbs. Columns A–C 232–318 = 73 per cent.
Columns A–E 384–545 = 70 per cent.
Nouns. Columns A–C 214–255 = 84 per cent.
Columns A–E 363–448 = 81 per cent.

The percentage of uniformity is higher in the nouns, as is of course to be expected.

All things considered these statistics indicate a very high degree of uniformity of rendering, which is really greater than appears from the figures, for I have, in the case of compound verbs, systematically ignored only those with the prefix *ga-*; in all other cases I have distinguished between the simple verb and its compounds, excepting only such cases where the prefix quite certainly did not modify the sense, but existed merely as an index of perfectivity.[1]

[1] The question of the semantics of Gothic prefixes in compound verbs deserves a thorough investigation. There is some degree of liberty in the use of prefixes to mark perfectivity, when the prefix often loses much of its force. The same thing is observable in Latin and Greek, and, naturally, in Russian (cf. Moulton, *Gr. N. T. GR.*, pp. 111–12). It is this consideration which makes one look with favour on Kauffmann's theory of stylistic variation by means of composition: see *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 228, and below, pp. 81–2.

§ 3. *Uniformity and some alleged* Stilgesetze.

Although the Goth did not hesitate to depart from the principle of uniformity whenever the circumstances made it expedient, the substitution of uniform Gothic values for Greek units was yet far more mechanical than critics have hitherto realized or been willing to admit.

Kauffmann, for instance (*ZfdPh.* xlviii. 26) speaks of the stylistic repetition of word, sentence, and syllable:—'Das stilgesetz der wiederholung zerlegt sich in die beiden hauptstücke der wortwiederholung und der satzwiederholung; dazu kommt als dritte kategorie die silbenwiederholung, die entweder das homoioteleuton oder den endreim oder auch den stabreim erzeugt.' Then (p. 42) of alliteration and rhyme:—'Die wichtigsten klangfiguren sind alliteration . . . homoioteleuton und reim, die auf grund der anaphora (samt epiphora . . .) und wortwiederaufnahme entstehen und gedeihen und kaum noch der hervorhebung bedürfen.'

But when we examine the examples which Kauffmann adduces from the Gospels in illustration of these supposed 'stilgesetze' (pp. 36 ff.), it is easy to see that the repetition of word, sentence, and syllable is mechanically dependent upon the Greek text. Let us consider e.g. the passage from M. vii. 13–27 (pp. 36–8).

1. Word-repetition.

wigs . . *wigs*: οδος . . οδος (vv. 13–14).

gataujiþ (bis) . . *gataujan* (bis): ποιει . . ποιειν (vv. 17–18).

ana staina (bis): επι την πετραν (vv. 24–5).

galeiko . . *galeikoda*: ομοιωσω . . ομοιωθησεται (vv. 24, 26).

Now this '*wortwiederholung*' is not stylistically Gothic, but is mechanically determined by the Greek, for οδος = *wigs* 5.3.14.14 = 36/36; πετρα = *stains* 4.0.3.1 = 8/8; ομοιουν = *galeikon* 3.0.1.1 = 5/5 (cf. ομοιος = *galeiks* 10/10, ομοιως = *samaleiks* 10/10); ποιειν = *ga*)*taujan* 23.58.57.41 = 179/202 and *ga*)*waurkjan* 21/202, of which latter 15 instances represent the sense 'to make or prepare', so that in all other senses of the Greek verb *ga*)*taujan* is practically constant. This is not, therefore, an example of any conscious '*stilgesetz der wiederholung*'; the repetitions have in every case been determined by the Greek recurrents and the uniformity with which they have been rendered into Gothic.

2. Syllable-repetition.

in fralustai . . . *in libainai*: απωλειαν . . . ζωην (vv. 13–14). The Greek words appear, respectively, as *fralusts* 1.1.0.0 (*fraqis*)*teins* 0.0.0.1, and *libains* 1.15.3.4 = 23/23. These are feminine i-stems (for

fraqisteins cf. *E. B.* § 152. 6): the dative ending *-ai* was therefore inevitable.

usmaitada . . . atlagjada: εκκοπτεται . . . βαλλεται (v. 19); *praufetidedum . . . uswaurpum . . . gatawidedum*: προεφητευ-σαμεν κτλ. (v. 22). How else is it proposed that the Goth should render the same verbal forms?

ahos . . . windos: ποταμοι . . . ανεμοι (vv. 25, 27). The Greek words appear as *aha* 2.1.1.1 (*flodus* only once in Luke), and *winds* 5.1.4.5 = 15/15. The nom. pl. of *aha* and *winds* both end in *-os*, and are therefore bound to rhyme like the Greek. *Flodus* occurs in the parallel L. vi. 49, apparently as a stylistic variant to *aha* in v. 48; but the normal rendering *aha* has been restored in the margin.

An examination of the other passages cited by Kauffman will reveal the fact that these repetitions are not purposed for rhetorical effect; they are determined by the original Greek and transferred to the Gothic by reason of that uniformity which we have shown to be one of the chief characteristics of the Version.

Before leaving this passage (M. vii. 13–27) we must comment upon the distinction between *waira frodamma* (v. 24) and *mann dwalamma* (v. 26), in connexion with which Kauffman (loc. cit., p. 38, note 1), speaks of 'eine variante, die ein von der gr. vorlage sich emanzipierendes stilgefühl des Goten verrät, dem offenbar die wort-wörtliche wiederholung seiner vorlage zu weit gieng'. So rarely has the Goth avoided the monotony of Greek repetitions, *qua* repetitions, as even a casual inspection will show, that one ought not to describe as stylistic any variant before having excluded all other possible causes.

This passage exemplifies the higher standing of *wair* (= vir, ανηρ) as compared with *manna* (= *homo*, ανθρωπος); thus *waira frodamma* 'a wise man' stands in delightful contrast to *mann dwalamma* 'a foolish person, silly fellow'. The translator of the Ags. Gospels has made the same happy distinction; cf. *byþ gelic þam wisan were* and *se byþ gelic þam dysigan men.*

Another '*stilmittel*' of which a good deal has been made is alliteration. Stolzenburg (*ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 374) says 'Grosses gewicht ist bei der beurteilung der übersetzungstechnik des Wulfila auf die alliterationen gelegt worden, die sich in dem got. texte finden. Diese erscheinung hat wol vor allem dazu geführt von "einem hauch dichterischer begeisterung" u. a. zu sprechen. Wer den got. wortschatz unbefangen betrachtet, erkennt, dass auch hier, wie in anderen fällen, der übersetzer für etwas verantwortlich gemacht wird, was seinen grund zum teil in seiner sprache hat. Die alliteration brauchte nicht erst vom übersetzer kunstvoll eingefügt zu werden; solche erscheinungen boten sich ihm

ungesucht. Er hat dann freilich diese gleichklänge nicht gemieden, zumal sein gr. original auch nicht davon frei war. In manchen der folgenden belege wird also die alliteration nicht einmal beabsichtigt sein.'

This is, on the whole, a correct and reasonable view, although the writer does not realize that alliterative phrases may be imposed by lexical necessity. In his first example, e. g. M. vi. 10 γενηθητω το θελημα σου *wairþai wilja þeins*, the Greek verb is represented by *wairþan* 146/158 times, whilst the noun is rendered by *wilja* in 2.4.0.1 = 7/7 cases.

On this subject Odefey (p. 66) says 'und wenn ich auch Stolzenburg darin recht gebe, dass diese alliterationen vielleicht sogar zum grössten teil ganz von selbst aus der gotischen sprache dem übersetzer in die feder flossen, namentlich da, wo worte von verschiedenem stamm alliterieren, so sind doch andrerseits diejenigen alliterationen, die worte von gleichem stamm meist gegen das griechische vorbild miteinander verbinden, ein beweis dafür, dass eine bewusste künstlerische tendenz zu grunde liegt, wenn auch nur in anlehnung an anderswo vorkommende griechische beispiele.'

Let us examine the nine passages that Odefey cites in support of his contention.

L. i. 28 *anstai audahafta*; this is a conflation: see pp. 129–30.

L. ii. 8 αγραυλουντες και φυλασσοντες φυλακας *þairhwakandans jah witandans wahtwom*. *þairhwakandans* is after the Old Lat., cf. *pernoctantes* e; see below, p. 175.

L. ii. 29 δεσποτα *fraujinond frauja*; one of these, most probably *fraujinond*, is an interpolated gloss (see, however, Streitberg in IF. xxiii. 117, where he maintains that *frauja* is the gloss; in his *W. B.* he describes *fraujinonds* as 'glosse zu frauja'). Δεσποτης occurs only here in the Gospels, but in 1 Tim. vi. 1 it is translated by *frauja*.

L. iii. 16 το ιμαντα των υποδηματων *skaudaraiþ skohe*. The same expression occurs in Mk. i. 7, Skeir iii. 26 (*skohis*, = J. i. 27).

L. iv. 22 παντες *allai alakjo*. Cf. Mk. xi. 32 απαντες γαρ *allai auk alakjo* (as if = *omnes enim omnino*), also L. xix. 37 απαν το πληθος των μαθητων *alakjo managei siponje*; L. xix. 48 ο λαος γαρ απας *managei auk alakjo*. *Alakjo* therefore functions as an intensive adverb = Latin *omnino*, and in the present passage is just a later addition to the text of Wulfila after other passages where its presence is justified. The Goth would never have used two words for one, where that one word exactly expressed the sense of the Greek, and by his action falsified the text, merely to satisfy his alleged artistic tendencies.

L. iv. 40 ασθενουντας νοσοις *siukans sauhtim.* Here again the alliteration is inevitable, for ασθενης (ασθενων) = *siuks* 3.2.3.1 = 9/10 (for L. ix. 2 *unhailans* see pp. 216 ff.), whilst νοσος appears as *sauhts* (only in pl.) 2.0.4.2 = 8/8 times.

L. vi. 25 πενθησετε και κλαυσετε *gaunon jah gretan duginnid.* κλαιειν = *gretan* 16/16, πενθειν = *gaunon* only here, twice elsewhere appearing as *gainon* (M. ix. 15 and Mk. xvi. 10); since θρηνειν = *gaunon* twice (J. xvi. 20 and L. vii. 32), it is possible that *gainon* in the present passage gave way to the more familiar *gaunon*, from the reminiscent L. vii. 32 *gaunodedum* (εθρηνησαμεν) *izwis janni gaigrotuþ*; J. xvi. 20 *greitiþ jah gaunoþ* (θρηνησετε).

L. ix. 14 κατακλινατε αυτους κλισιας: *gawaurkeiþ im anakumbjan kubituns. Anakumbjan* was the only word to express the act of reclining or sitting down at meals; κλισιας occurs only here, but its representation by the semantically equivalent loan-word *kubituns* is quite in accord with the normal technique, and needs no further justification.

L. xix. 43 περιβαλουσιν οι εχθροι σου χαρακα σοι: *bigraband fijands þeinai grabai þuk.* The rendering *grabai* is erroneous, for the Greek word = *vallo.* If the Goth felt that *bigraban* was the natural rendering, rather than *biwairpan*, it would be equally natural to follow on with *grabai*, just as in German *graben* and *grube* would naturally go together, and this may be the simplest explanation of the inaccurate *grabai.* The case is complicated, however, by the agreement of e, which reads *circumfodient inimici tui fossam*, and it is often not easy to say, in such cases, which text has influenced the other (chapter xiii, and p. 185). In this case the error would seem most naturally to have arisen in the Gothic, but the passage is a very uncertain witness.

Of the nine passages cited by Odefey, perhaps not one is 'ein beweis dafür, dass eine bewusste künstlerische tendenz zu grunde liegt'; only the choice of *gaunon* in L. vi. 25 may have been suggested by the alliterating *gretan.* The phrase *skaudaraiþ skohe* proves nothing.

Whilst Stolzenberg cites 38 + 17 = 55 alliterative phrases with the caveat 'In manchen der folgenden belege wird also die alliteration nicht einmal beabsichtigt sein', Kauffmann, *a propos* of the same subject (loc. cit. xlviii. 171) speaks of 'jenes rhythmusgefühl . . . das ihn von den typen des alliterationsverses gebrauch machen oder wenigstens durch die wortwahl verraten liess, wie vertraut er mit ihnen war. Der übersetzer hat nicht etwa alliterierende langverse verfasst, wohl aber hat er durch die alliteration die vorliterarische wortkunst und zugleich auch die dichterische rhythmik der Goten nicht bloss lesbar, sondern auch hörbar gemacht.'

He quotes, as simulating the old alliterative metre, thirty-nine passages from the Gospels and twenty-three from the Epistles, having previously (p. 170) given a number of phrases, half-lines, as it were, illustrative merely of more or less conscious efforts at alliteration. The same test may be applied to the latter as to the former. Take, for instance, the phrase *hazd in himinam* (L. xviii. 22 and Mk. x. 21; cf. M. vi. 20). The Greek θησαυρος, ουρανος are uniformly translated by *hazd* 3.0.2.1 = 6 6 and *himins* 67 67 times respectively; the alliteration is therefore imposed by the vocabulary, there being no other word available.

Kauffmann's examples of alliterative verses may be similarly criticized. Some of them, to be sure, are typical examples of the alliterative line with which the oldest W.Germ. poetry has made us familiar; nevertheless, the alliteration that Kauffmann assumes to be the result of conscious or subconscious effort, will in most cases prove to be fortuitous, when we find that the uniformity of rendering left the Goth no other choice. It will not do to pick out a few allliterating lines or phrases and to attribute them, with a '*quam pulchre*', to Wulfila's poetic diction.

Our comment must be confined to a few of Kauffmann's examples, in the order in which they occur in his article; the reader will be able to examine the others in the same way.

J. viii. 39 *atta unsar Abraham ist*, πατερ ημων Αβρααμ εστιν. Πατηρ = *atta* 120 120, and the Gothic follows the Greek word for word.

J. xv. 26 *ahman sunjis ist fram attin usrinnib*. Το πνευμα της αληθειας ο παρα του πατρος εκπορευεται. Πνευμα is uniformly *ahmans* 60 60.

Mk. xv. 23 *wainahw þan wasiþ þaiþ gabeisnjandin ina*. ον δε ωρα τριτη και εσταυρωσαν αυτον. ωρα = *hweila* 24/24; σταυροω = *us)hramjan* 12 12.

L. ii. 13 *harjis himinakundis hazjandane guþ*. στρατιας ουρανιου αινουντων τον θεον. Στρατια occurs only here: *harjis* is the obvious, if not the only, rendering for it, and so is a compound or derivative of *himins* for ουρανιος. Επαινεω occurs only as *hazjan* four times in Luke; cf. also *auos hazeins* L. xviii. 43.

Mk. viii. 22 *jah bairun du imma blindan jah bedun ina* και φερουσιν αυτω τυφλον και παρακαλουσιν αυτον. Φερω and its compounds are represented by *-bairan* 0.8.4 10, *-briggan* 1.0.3.4, *-tiuhan* 0.0.0.2, so that the second word of this passage almost inevitably began with the letter *b*; τυφλος = *blinds* 22 22, and παρακαλεω = *bidjan* 3.0.5.9 = 17/18 times. (Once, L. iii. 18, *þrafstjan*.)

These examples must suffice to show how the translator, uninfluenced

either by '*wortwahl*', or '*rhythmusgefühl*', or '*künstlerische tendenz*', but by mechanically substituting, word for word, the stock Gothic rendering — sense permitting—for each Greek word, succeeded in turning out, occasionally, a phrase whose semblance to the alliterative verse-line was, given the rigid technique of the Wulfilian Version, as inevitable as it was accidental.[1]

Another great '*stilgesetz*' which the translator is said to have applied is that dealt with by Kauffmann under '*Wechsel im ausdruck*'. Variations of rendering that come under this category are treated in Chapter v (Stylistic Variation), to which the reader is referred. It is sufficient here to say that the instances of departure, in the same context, from the norm of uniformity, are by far fewer than at first sight appears.

§ 4. *Uniformity and the Africana.*

In the matter of uniformity of rendering and close adherence to the word-order of the original, the Gothic translation shows some points of resemblance to the African version, of which at least the younger witness, the Codex Palatinus, is of paramount interest to us. With reference to the former characteristic, Hans von Soden[2] writes: 'Wir dürfen wie die betreffenden einzelnen lesungen so die eigenschaft, dieselbe vokabel in der regel durchgehend zu gebrauchen, als typische charakteristika der afrikanischen übersetzung bezeichnen.'

Similarly does the African version adhere to the word-order of the Greek, although in this matter the Gothic leaves the African far behind. Of the Bobbiensis Soden remarks (ibid., pp. 129–30): 'Er geht hier bis ins fehlerhafte . . . oder doch ins harte . . . und zeigt sich sonst in dem bestreben, composita durch composita . . . simplicia durch simplicia . . . dieselben griechischen durch dieselben lateinischen vokabeln . . . wiederzugeben, in beibehaltung der griechischen syntaktischen konstruktionen . . . in komplizierten ungebräuchlichen bildungen . . . dem bemühen kein griechisches wort unübersetzt zu lassen . . . und überhaupt schülerhafter wörtlichkeit.' Again (p. 121): '. . . k bis ins fehlerhafte, ja unmögliche hinein gräzisiert.' Thus also of the Palatinus (p. 178): 'Es ist interessant, festzustellen, dass fehlerhaft enger anschluss ans griechische auch bei e zu beobachten ist', and, summarily (p. 350), 'Kann man nach den vorstehenden ausführungen mit bestem gewissen die these

[1] The most extraordinary suggestion in this connexion is contained in a note of Bernhardt's (M. xxvii. 52), where he accounts for a very gross blunder by Wulfila's love of alliteration, 'κοιμασθαι gewohnlich *ga slepan*, hier wol *ligan* der alliteration mit *leika* zu liebe.'

[2] Hans v. Soden, *Lat. N. Test. in Afrika*, p. 218.

vertreten, dass sich das alte afrikanische N. T. um eine wirkliche übersetzung des griechischen ins lateinische bemüht, so folgt daraus keineswegs, dass diese übersetzung gut lateinisch ist. Vielmehr ist sie durchaus primitiv und lässt die griechische vorlage überall durchscheinen',

The Gothic renderings of individual words are, as we shall see, accurate and idiomatic, whilst the use, in compound verbs, of forms approximating to or simulating the Greek, offered less difficulties in Gothic than in Latin; nevertheless a great deal of what Soden has said about the Africana applies also to the Gothic Version.

Occasionally a Gothic counterfeit is clumsily paralleled in the African, as *daupjan* (cf. OHG. *toufen*), *wailamerjan*, *gamainjan*, where the African has *tinguere*, *benenuntiare*, *communicare* against the Itala *baptizare*, *euangelizare*, *coinquinare* (see *L. N. T.*, pp. 325–6, 345). These and other resemblances between the C. A. and the Africana are merely coincidental to the same primitive translation-technique that characterizes both these versions.

II

TYPICAL GOTHIC RENDERINGS OF NOUNS

§ 1. *Adoptives and Counterfeits.*

If the Goth has followed the method of translating the Greek text word for word so far as to render the Version largely unintelligible without reference to the original, the individual renderings, on the contrary, are characterized by a patriotic appreciation of native idiom and a scholarly striving after accuracy and fitness.

In the following list are collected the Greek words (including some of Hebrew origin) that have been taken in their adoptive form into the Vulgate, so far as they occur in those portions of the Gospels extant in the C. A. It is not suggested that all, or even most of these Greek adoptives in the Vulgate (and the O.Lat.) Version are strictly hellenisms;[1] some of them, e.g. *drachma, mina, mysterium, purpura, scorpio, sinapi, spongia*, were thoroughly established in ordinary Latin speech, whilst many others would present no difficulty to the very large section of the Roman people to whom Greek was a second language.[2] Yet even so, this list shows no great striving after vernacular renderings, and the smaller number of Greek and Graeco-Latin adoptives in Gothic shows up in striking contrast, especially if we except a number of words like αγγελος, αζυμων, δραχμη, the Hebrew πασχα, ραββι, ρακα κτλ., for which it is less easy to find native synonyms.

Greek	*Vulgate* (*Itala*)	*Codex Argenteus*
αβυσσος (L. viii. 31)	*abyssus*	*afgrundiþa*
αγγαρευειν	*angariare*	*ananauþjan, undgreipan*
αγγελος	*angelus*	*aggilus* (twice *airus* = *nuntius*)
αζυμων	*die azymorum*	*daga azwme* (but Mk. viii. 15 ζυμη *beist*)
αλαβαστρον	*alubastrum*	*alabalstraun*
αναθεματιζειν	*anathematizare*	*afaikan* (Mk. xiv. 71) *afdomjan* (M. xxvi. 74). [Cf. *anaþaima* twice in Epist.]

[1] Cf. Hans v. Soden, *L. N. T.*, p. 349, 'z.T. sind sie [*sc.* Greek adoptives in the Afr. text] garnicht zu übersetzen, z.T. mögen sie bereits vor der Bibelübersetzung im Lateinischen eingebürgerte Fremdwörter oder Termini sein.'

[2] Cf. Kenyon, *Text. Crit. N.T.*, p. 197, and see below, p. 39.

Greek	*Vulgate* (*Itala*)	*Codex Argenteus*
αρχισυναγωγος	*archisynagogus* (Mk. v. 22, 35, 36, 38; L. xiii. 14; *princ. syn.* elsewh.	*swnagogafaþs*, *fauramaþleis swnagogeis*
αρωματα	*aromata*	*aromata*
βαπτιζειν	*baptizare*	*uf)daupjan*
βαπτισμα	*baptisma, -um*	*daupeins*
βαπτιστης	*baptista*	*daupjands*
βατος	*cadus* vg., *batus* a b ff^2 g.	*kas*
βλασφημειν	*blasphemare*	*wajamerjan*
βλασφημια	*blasphemia*	*wajamereins, naiteins*
γαζοφυλακιῳ (J. viii. 20)	*gazophylacio*	*gazaufwlakio*
γραμμα (L. xvi. 6, 7)	*cautio, litteras* vg., *chirografum* e l	*bokos* [cf. *kawtsjo*, Naples doc.]
δαιμονιζων κτλ.	*daem. habens*, etc., also *-iacus* k e	*daimonareis* (5), *unhulþons habands* (2), *woþs* (3).
δαιμονιον	*daemonium*	*unhulþo* (*-þa*)
δαιμων	*daemon*	*unhulþo* (*-þa*), *skohsl*
διαβολος	*diabolus*	*diabaulus*; M. xxv. 41 (Cod. Ambros. C.) *unhulþa*
δραχμη	*dragma*	*drakma*
εγκαινια (J. x. 22)	*encenia*	*inniujiþa*
ελεημοσυνη (M. i. 1–3)	*elemosyna*	*armaio*
ευαγγελιζεσθαι	*evangelizare* (*bene-, adnuntiare* k e)	*wailamerjan, -spillon; þiuþspillon; spillon* [*aiwaggeljan* once in Epist.]
ευαγγελιον	*evangelium*	*aiwaggeljo*
θηκη (J. xviii. 11)	*vagina*; *theca* a e q r.	*fodr*
θησαυριζειν	*thesaurizare*	*huzdjan*
θησαυρος	*thesaurus*	*huzd*
ιωτα	*iota*	*jota*
καθεδρα (Mk. xi. 15)	*cathedra*	*sitls*
κορος (L. xvi. 7)	*corus*	*mitaþs*
κοφινος	*cophinus*	*tainjo*
κραββατος	*grabatlum*	*badi*
λαμπας (J. xviii. 3)	*facibus* vg.; *lampades* in M. xxv	*haizam* (dat. pl.)
μαμμωνας	*mammona*	*mammona*, M. vi. 24; *faihuþraihna*, L. xvi. 13 (marg. *mammonim*)
μαννα	*manna*	*manna*
μνα	*mna* (*mina*)	*skatts*
μυστηριον	*mysterium*	*runa*
ολοκαυτωμα	*holocaustoma*	*alabrunsts*
παραβολη	*parabola*	*gajuko*
παραλυτικος	*paralyticus*	*usliþa*

Greek	*Vulgate* (*Itala*)	*Codex Argenteus*
παρακλητος	*paracletus*	*parakletus*
παρασκευη	*parasceue*	*paraskaiwe*
πασχα	*pascha*	*pasxa*
ναρδου πιστικης	*nardi pistici*	*nardaus pistikeinis* (C. A.)
πορφυρα	*purpura*	*paurpaura*
προφητης	*propheta*	*praufetes*
προφητευειν	*prophetare, -izare*	*praufetjan* (*fauraqiþan* M. xi. 13)
ραββι	*rabbi*	*rabbei*
ρακα	*raca*	*raka*
σαββατον	*sabbatum*	*sabbato*, &c.
σιναπι	*sinapis*	*sinap*
σκανδαλιζειν	*scandalizare*	*gamarzjan* (*afmarzjan*)
σκηνοπηγια	*scenopegia*	*hleiþrastakeins*
σκορπιος	*scorpio*	*skaurpjo*
εσμυρνισμενον οινον	*murratum vinum*	*wein miþ smwrna*
σπογγος	*spongia*	*swamm*
συκομωραια	*sychomorus*	*smakkabagms*
συναγωγη	*synagoga*	*swnagoge* 13, *gaqumþs* 5
σχισμα	*schisma* (J. ix. 16)	*missaqiss*
τελωνιον	*teloneum*	*mota*
τετραρχης	*tetrarcha*	*taitrarkes*, cf. *fidurraginja* L. iii. 1 = τετραρχουντος
υποκριτης	*hypocrita*	*liuts*
ψαλμος	*psalmus*	*psalmon* (acc. sing.)
ψευδοπροφητης	*pseudopropheta*	*liugna-, galiugapraufetus*
ψευδοχριστος	*pseudochristus*	*galiugaxristus*

Of the 64 Greek or Hebrew words[1] in this list that have, for whatever reason, been taken into the Vulgate, only 28 have found a place in the Gothic Version, viz. *aggilus* (*airus*), *aiwaggeljo*, *alabastraun*, *aromata*, *azwme*, *diabaulus* (*unhulþa*, *-o*), *drakma*, *gazofwlakio*, *jota*, *mammona* (*faihuþraihna*), *manna*, *nardus*, *parakletus*, *paraskaiwe*, *pasxa*, *paurpaura*, *pistikeins*, *praufetes*, *praufetjan* (*fauraqiþan*), *psalmon*, *rabbei*, *raka*, *sabbato*, *sinap*, *skaurpjo*, *smwrn*, *swnagoge* (*gaqumþs*), *taitrarkes* (*fidurraginja*); and of these 28, there are native variants in 6 cases; nor could any one reasonably expect vernacular renderings for αλαβαστρον, ιωτα, μαννα, πασχα, ραββι, ρακα, σαββατον.

If to this number (28) we add the hybrids *swnagogafaþs*, *daimonareis*, *liugna-, galiugapraufetus*, *galiugaxristus*, there are left 32 cases out of 64 in which the Goth has preferred to use a native word where he might, very legitimately in many cases, have adopted the Greek word after the manner of the Old Latin and Vulgate. The uniform excellence of the Gothic renderings is apparent from a cursory glance at the above list.

[1] Ignore the entries under βατος, γραμμα, θηκη.

Indeed, the Greek words that have found their way into the Gothic as direct adoptives are surprisingly few, being almost entirely confined to specifically evangelical terms.[1] For the Gospels, the following:—*aggilus*, *alabalstraun*, *aromata*, *azwme*, *bwssaun*, *diabaulus*, *gazaufwlakjo*, *pistikeins*, *praufetus*, *sabbato*, *swnagoge*, *taitrarkes*, *þwmiama*, and *laigaion*, *praitoriaun*, *spaikulatur*, adopted from Latin into Greek, go far to exhaust the probable list. In the case of *assarjau* (? Lat. *assarius*), *balsan*, *drakma*, *nardus*, *saban*, *sakkus*, *skaurpjo*, *smwrn*, it is doubful whether they are directly from Greek or mediately through the Latin.[2]

The other class of loan-words in Gothic, comprising such as *akeit*, *alew*,[3] *anno*, *arka*, *asilus*, *aurali*, *aurkjus*, *faskja*, *kaisar*, *karkara*, *katils*, *kaupon*, *kubitus*, *anakumbjan*, *lukarn*, *mes*, *militon*, &c., are from Latin, and for the most part belong to the oldest class of loan-words that penetrated into the Germanic dialects long before Wulfila, some of them before the Goths left their homes by the Baltic coasts. Such words would be in common use in the Gothic of the fourth century.

The Gothic Version, therefore, addressed itself to the Goth so far as possible in the vocabulary, if not the idiomatic language of his people, avoiding the introduction of Greek words.[4] This is not surprising, for although the earliest trail of the immigrant Goths bore south-east, taking them as far as Ephesus in the middle of the third century, and although Constantinople undoubtedly became, in the fourth century, the religious metropolis of the christianizing Wisigoths, it cannot be said that the Goths had, in any national-cultural sense, felt the influence of the Greek. On the contrary, during the hundred years that followed their admission, in 270, to Dacia by Aurelian, they must have become much romanized in culture and speech.[5]

The Roman army must have exerted its uniforming influence upon the Goths as upon other nations. Thousands of Gothic warriors passed through the ranks either as auxiliaries or in the army itself, and cannot fail to have brought back, among other things, the habits engrained by

[1] W. Schulze, *Gr. Lehnw. im Got.*, p. 740, 'Aber sobald man neben und hinter dem kirchlichen einflusse den profanen sucht, tritt uns statt der fülle der beziehungen die bitterste armut entgegen; es giebt im gotischen lexikon fast gar keine griechischen, von Latein unabhängigen lehnworte, denen man zutrauen mochte, auch ohne christliche mission . . ihren weg zu den Germanen gefunden zu haben'. (*Sitzb. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, vol. xxxvi (1905).)

[2] W. Schulze, op. cit., p. 741, note 1.

[3] According to R. Much. *PBB.* xvii. 34, and F. Solmsen, *IF.* v. 344, not directly from L. *olivum*, but through Celtic.

[4] Thus also the African version, cf. H. von Soden, *L. N. T.*, p. 361, 'Sie rechnet, wie gezeigt werden konnte, auf rein lateinische leser; ausser namen und bereits eingebürgerten termini und fremdwortern übernimmt sie im ganzen nichts Griechisches, notwendige neubildungen erfolgen in lat. sprache.'

[5] Cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. i, p. 64.

years of service: military argot, military methods, Roman language, Roman culture.

It was *a priori* more probable that a pint-pot should be known, in the fourth century, by the name of *aurkjus* (Mk. vii. 4, 8), which is the Latin *urceus* (OE. *orc*), than that the Greek ξεστης should have found its way into the language. Certain it is that when the Gospels were translated, the former word was current, whilst ξεστης, had it been transliterated into the text, would have been unintelligible as Gothic.[1]

Similarly we find John xi. 44 σουδαριῳ translated by *auraljai*, in spite of vg.: latt. pler. *sudario*. The Gothic word is either from *orarium*—through a dissimilated form **oralium*, cf. OHG. *orul, orel, orare*, OE. *orel*—or, what is more probable, from the by-form *oralis* (*orale*), 'sudarium, quo os abstergitur' (Du Cange). *Orarium* is found side by side with *sudarium* in later patristic use and, judging by the Gothic, OHG., and OE. words, was apparently the popular word in the time of Wulfila.

If Greek was, in the first centuries of our era, a universal language, 'current in almost every part of the Empire',[2] it was at least a strange tongue to the semi-romanized Goths; thus much, at any rate, we gather from its exclusion from the language of the Gothic Gospels, in favour of the vernacular words, either native or adoptives from Latin, understanded of the common people.

Kauffmann has said, 'Weit mehr als die Römer haben jedoch die Hellenen den literarischen sprachgebrauch der Goten befruchtet. Griechische kontrafakturen sind hauptsächlich verbale komposita jüngsten stils.'[3]

With the first part of this statement, so far as it applies to the word-stock of the Gospels, we emphatically disagree. Of direct 'counterfeiting' of Greek words there appears to be, in the Gospels, very little; certainly far less than we expected to find.[4] As an alternative to transliteration we have ολοκαυτωμα represented by *alabrunsts*, εγκαινια by *inniujiþa*, σκηνοπηγια by *hleiþrastakeins*, τετραρχουντος by *fidurraginja* (cf. *fidurragini* = τετραρχουντος). Βαπτιζειν becomes *daupjan* (cf. OHG. *toufen*), ευαγγελιζειν is rendered *wailamerjan*, δευτεροπρωτῳ (L. vi. 1) by *anþaramma frumin*, &c. These are very clearly counterfeits, that is, words that would be most unlikely to arise in conversation, words that have been

[1] *E. B.* § 163/2 ad init. 'Dagegen werden die zahlreichen biblischen eigennamen sowie eine anzahl christlicher termini technici noch völlig als fremde eindringlinge empfunden.'

[2] Cf. Moulton, *Gram. N. T. Gr., Proleg.*, p. 5.

[3] See *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 191.

[4] This is revealed by the material, which was assembled in etymological groups in order to show up any hellenizing counterfeits. Thus, e. g., καιρος = *mel*, but ευκαιρος = *gatils*, προσκαιρος = *hveilahsaírbs* (not **wailamels*, **atmels*).

fashioned for the nonce, after the Greek, and which would convey no particular meaning to any one who did not know in what special connexion they were used.

How are we to judge the majority of similar compound words—not a very numerous class—such as, e.g.:

gardawaldands } *hiwafrauja* }	οικοδεσποτης
witadolaisareis	νομοδιδασκαλος
ubilwaurdjan	κακολογειν
filuwaurdei	πολυλογια
usstass	αναστασις
bloþarinnandei	αιμορροουσα
silbasiuneis	αυτοπτις
unmahts [1]	ασθενεια
frumabaur	πρωτοτοκος
afsateins } *afstass* }	αποστασιον
atwitains	παρατηρησις

Who will say that *gardawaldands*, *frumabaur* were not good Gothic before Wulfila? Or that *atwitains* (L. xvii. 20)[2] was not a military term of long standing? Nor is it easy to see how else to translate αναστηναι except by *usstandan* or *urreisan*; it happens, however, that the former was reserved as the rendering of αναστηναι, 'to stand up, arise from the dead',[3] since *standan* is the more obvious equivalent of στηναι, whilst *urreisan* nearly always = (δι)εγειρεσθαι, 'to get up, arise'; only twice do we find *urreisan* translating αναστηναι (L. vi. 8; Mk. v. 42).[4]

On the other hand, there are renderings which are neither obvious counterfeits, nor doubtful words whose resemblance to the Greek may, or may not, be accidental, but excellent specimens of idiomatic Gothic, e. g.,

faihuþraihna	μαμμωνας
faihufrikei	πλεονεξια
faihufriks	φιλαργυρος
fauragaggja	οικονομος
fauramapleis	αρχων
hauhhairtei	υπερηφανια

Lastly, we have a number of free renderings in which the Goth has allowed himself unusual liberty in departing from his original. These will be found illustrated in chapter x.

In the case of compound verbs, the number of corresponding formations as, e. g., ευαγγελιζειν = *wailamerjan*, ευνοων = *wailahugjands*, &c., is naturally much greater. These form the numerous class of which Kauffmann

[1] See p. 158. [2] Cf. vg. nón venit regnum Dei cum observatione.
[3] Also, exceptionally = εξελθειν Mk. vi. 1; xi. 12; see p. 117.
[4] See p. 235 (L. vi. 8).

says, 'Griechische kontrafakturen sind' hauptsächlich verbale komposita jüngsten stils.' Most of these renderings, however, run so naturally into Gothic that they give one the impression of being idiomatic rather than counterfeiting neologisms. This question is important enough to warrant a separate investigation; Kauffmann has briefly dealt with it in *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 191–201.

§ 2. *Renderings of Nouns.*

Turning to the simple words that do not lend themselves to reproduction or 'counterfeiting', it is hardly necessary to say that the rendering of such words proceeds with a due regard for the sense. E.g. βρωσις, βρωμα 'food' = *mats* 0.2.2.1, but M. vi. 19, 20 βρωσις 'rust' = *nidwa*, vg. *erugo*; *comestura* k. So also απτεσθαι 'to touch' = *attekan*; 'to kindle' = *tandjan*; κοπτειν 'cut' = *maitan*, 'bewail' = *flokan*, *qinon*; σχισμα 'rent' = *gataura*, 'division' = *missaqiss*. There is no need to insist further on this point; the Gothic version does not here differ from most others.

The Goth, however, goes farther than conventional accuracy, in many cases distinguishing with great nicety where there is uniformity of rendering in the vg. and the R. V., and where, had the Goth also used the same word, we should have had nothing to reproach him with. For example:

Γυνη[1] is carefully distinguished according as it means wife (*uxor*) or woman (*mulier*), as *qens* 3.0.17.19 and *qino* 4.1.12.6 respectively. In L. xx. 32 and Mk. xii. 22 (the seven brothers), where A. V., R. V. read 'the woman (vg. *mulier*) also died', the Goth retains *qens* with, perhaps, a greater refinement of taste. Cf. below on ανηρ (L. i. 34).

Ερωταν, to ask a question = *fraihnan* 1.12.16.24; to ask a favour = *bidjan* 0.6.7.1; Mk. x. 17 *bidjan* and L. v. 3 *haihait* are later alterations (see pp. 237, 132).

Κοσμος[2] is rendered *fairhus* 0.35.0.1 and *manasebs* 0.29.1.1. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Goth intended to make a fine distinction of sense according as κοσμος means 'the world, *orbis terrarum*, earth as distinct from Heaven', or, on the other hand, 'this world and its people; mankind, *saeculum*'.

The passages in John where *fairhus* occurs are J. viii. 23 (*bis*), 26; ix. 5 (*bis*), 39; x. 36; xi. 9, 27; xii. 25, 31, 46; xv. 19 (*ter*); xvi. 11, 21, 28 (*bis*), 33 (*bis*); xvii. 5, 6, 11 (*bis*), 12, 14 (*bis*), 15, 16 (*bis*), 24; xviii. 36 (*bis*), 37.

Manasebs is found in John vi. 14, 33, 51; vii. 4, 7; viii. 12; xii. 19,

[1] Cf. Kauffmann, *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 349 ff.

[2] Ibid., xlix. 36 ff.

31, 47; xiv. 17, 19, 22, 27, 30, 31; xv. 18, 19 (*bis*); xvi. 8, 20; xvii. 9, 13, 14, 18 (*bis*), 21, 23, 25; xviii. 20.

Cf. especially J. xv. 19 *jabai þis fairhwus weseiþ, aiþþau so manaseds swesans frijodedi; aþþan unte us þamma fairhwau ni sijuþ, ak ik gawalida izwis us þamma fairhwau, duþþe fijaid izwis so manaseþs.* Also J. xii. 31 *nu staua ist þizai manasedai, nu sa reiks þis fairhwus uswairpada ut.* This is not mere stylistic artifice; it betrays a keenly critical discrimination of sense, contrasting with the uniform 'world' and *mundus* of the R. V. and Vulgate.[1]

In a few cases, however, the Goth might with effect have used the alternative word, as in

J. vi. 14 ο ερχομενος εις τον κοσμον *in þo manaseþ.*

J. xiv. 30 ο του κοσμου αρχων *saei þizai manasedai reikinoþ* (cf. xii. 31 *reiks þis fairhwus*).

J. xvii. 13 λαλω εν τῳ κοσμῳ *rodja in manasedai.*

J. viii. 26 λαλω εις τον κοσμον *in þamma fairhwau.*

J. ix. 5 οταν εν τῳ κυσμῳ ω, φως ειμι του κυσμου *þan in þamma fairhwau im, liuhaþ im þis fairhwus* (? attracted to *fairhwau* 1).

J. xvi. 33 νενικηκα τον κοσμον *in þamma fairhwau aglons habaid; akei þrafsteiþ izwis, ik gajiukaida þana fairhu* (? contextual attraction).

Θριξ, the hair of the head, *cheveux* (J. xi. 2; xii. 3; L. vii. 38, 44) is, as *skufta* (dat. sing.), distinguished from *tagl* = Fr. *poil* (M. v. 36; x. 30; Mk. i. 6).

Εσχατος is differently rendered according as it means last in respect of time = *spedists* 1.6.0.1., or order = *aftumists* 0.0.2.3.

Βασιλεια[2] = *þiudangardi* 9.1.23.16, esp. in the phrase βασιλεια των ουρανων (τ. -ου). In six passages, viz. M. vi. 10 (thy K. come); L. i. 33 (of his K. there shall be no end); Mk. ix. 1 (see the K. of God come with power); L. iv. 5; viii. 10; ix. 27 the Goth has *þiudinassus* (=ηγεμονια L. iii. 1), which may, at least in the first three quotations, be an attempt to denote the continuity of the Kingdom: the divine Government as distinct from the heavenly state.

Ιματιον = *wasti* 4.3.6.11, but in three parallel passages M. ix. 16; L. v. 36; Mk. ii. 21 (undressed cloth upon an old garment) we have *snaga*, which seems to designate some particular garment, perhaps the cloke or outer garment, as distinguished from *wastjos* 'clothes, *vestimenta*' (p. 95, 238, M. ix. 16).

[1] In Latin there was *saeculum* and *mundus* to choose from, in English, 'the world' and 'mankind.' Cf. Wordsw.-White. note ad J. i. 9, 'In Iohanne Hieronymiano κοσμος semper est mundus; in Africana versione usitatior est saeculum' The *Ags. Gosp.* have uniformly *middan-eard.*

[2] Cf. Kauffmann, loc. cit., xlix. 44.

Ανηρ[1] 'man' has for its renderings *wair* 1.1.7.1., *manna* 1.0.7.1., *guma* once (L. xix. 2); in the sense husband, however, it is *aba* 0.0.3.1. viz. in L. i. 27, 34; ii. 36; Mk. x. 12. The application of *aba* in L. i. 27 (espoused to a man R. V., *viro* vg.) and L. i. 34 (I know not a man R. V., *virum* vg.) is anticipatory, and perhaps less correct than the blunt rendering of the R. V.; but the word is here used advisedly by the Goth, with admirable delicacy of feeling. Cf. above on γυνη L. xx. 32 and Mk. xii. 22.

So also M. vii. 24, 26 ανηρ . . . ανηρ *waira* . . . *mann*: see p. 29.

Αγγελος = *aggilus* (vg. *angelus*), but *airus* where an ordinary messenger is meant (L. vii. 24; ix. 52), agreeing with vg. *nuntius*. The Gothic-vg. distinction thus cuts across the R.V. division into 'angel' and 'messenger'.

Ναι = *jai* 2.1.2.0. emphatically, but *ja* in M. v. 37 where the meaning is simply 'yes' (pp. 92–3).

Στηθος is translated *brusts* L. xviii. 13, but *ana barma* J. xiii. 25, where John is leaning back 'on Jesus' breast'. *Barma* in v. 25 may be from v. 23, but it is in any case the more appropriate word after *anakumbida*, which here probably represents the common reading αναπεσων (επιπεσων Streitberg).

Σουδαριον. The dead man's face was 'bound about in a napkin' (J. xi. 44), and the pound also was 'laid up in a napkin' (L. xix. 20). The vg. has *sudario* in each case. The Goth makes a nice distinction between *fana* 'napkin, cloth' and *aurali* 'face-cloth, sweat-cloth' (= L. *orale*: see p. 39).

Λαλια in M. xxvi. 73; Mk. xiv. 70; J. viii. 43 is rendered 'speech' in the R.V., *loquella* in the vg. (om. Mk. xiv. 70). The Gothic has *razda* in M. and Mk., but *maþleins* in J., evidently distinguishing between 'manner of speaking; speech, dialect' and 'that which is spoken; conversation'.

Ευθετος L. ix. 62 *gatils ist in þiudangardja gudis*: vg. *aptus*, R.V. *fit*. The Goth seems to mean 'ready for' rather than 'suitable for'. Cf. L. xiv. 35 *ni du maihstau fagr ist*, vg. *utile*, R.V. *fit*.

These are typical instances of the enterprise and independence of the original Gothic translator, uninfluenced in his choice of rendering by the Old Latin (or by the Vulgate, if it is necessary to say so: see pp. 194–5), nor misled by the literal meaning of the Greek word.[2]

[1] Ibid., xlviii. 353 ff.

[2] Cf. Kauffmann, loc. cit., xlviii. 349, 'Sofern das griechische original die form des gotischen sprachausdrucks bestimmte, sprachen wir von hellenisierung. Wulfila hat aber auch, ohne von seiner vorlage ermächtigt worden zu sein, dem gotischen gehalt raum geschaffen.'

There are occasions, to be sure, where the Gothic text does not present such a high standard of workmanship, as will be seen from the examples treated in chapter viii; but in many of these instances the later generation of scribes and revisors is to blame.

These blemishes apart, the renderings of the Gothic Gospels are a magnificent record of the translator's scholarly accuracy, enlivened, here and there, by characteristic touches all his own. This cannot be too much insisted on, for here lies the mastery of the Gothic work and its beauty, if only one can look beyond the unaesthetic barrier presented at first sight by what is, in the present writer's opinion, a slavish and un-Gothic word-order. Had the Goth been inspired to rise to the free, idiomatic translation-technique adopted by the genius to whom we owe the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, what a master-work the world would have possessed!

Here follow, briefly, a few examples of renderings in the Goth's happiest manner, often in contrast to the Vulgate, the A.V., and the R.V.:

M. xxvii. 19 επι του βηματος *ana stauastola.*

J. vii. 12 γογγυσμος πολυς *birodeins mikila.* The only instance where *mikils* = πολυς (= *manags* fifty-seven times). Probably *manags* sounded harsh with a noun of action (nowhere qualified by *manags*). Cf. also *magnus* (b) f q (r), *multus* vg.

J. ix. 21, 23 ηλικιαν εχει *uswahsans ist*; vg. *aetatem habet.*

J. xii. 43 την δοξαν των ανθρωπων *hauhein manniska þau hauhein guðis* vg. latt. *hominum . . . Dei*, A.V., R.V. the glory of men. The Goth by his choice of *manniska* plainly construes ανθρωπων subjectively (see p. 109), where other versions are non-committal. Cf., however, Luther *die Ehre bei den Menschen denn die Ehre bei Gott. Mannisks* occurs only here, in 1 Cor. iv. 3 (= ανθρωπινος), and in Skeir. vi. 10.

L. ii. 2 απογραφη *gilstrameleins*: *descriptio* vg., enrolment R.V. The Goth has stated the purpose of the *descriptio.*

L. ii. 44 συνοδια *in gasinþjam*: *comitatu* vg.

L. v. 10 κοινωνοι *gadailans*: *socii* vg. Lit. 'partners'.

L. vii. 30 βουλην *runa*: *consilium Dei* vg.

L. ix. 31 την εξοδον αυτου *urruns is*: *excessum* vg., decease [Marg. departure] R.V.

L. xv. 14 λιμος ισχυρος *huhrus abrs*: *fames valida* vg. Literally, ισχυρος = *swinþs.*

L. xvi. 14 φιλαργυροι *faihufrikai*: *avari* vg.

L. xx. 38 and Mk. xii. 27 θεος δε ουκ εστιν νεκρων αλλα ζωντων *ak qiwaize*: *vivorum* vg. (Elsewhere ζην=*liban* 17/17).

Mk. v. 41 το κορασιον *mawilo*: *puella* vg. The diminutive is idiomatic in

the nom. of address. Thus also παιδιον *barnilo* L. i. 76. Elsewhere κορασιον = *mawi* 6/7.

Mk. xi. 4 επι του αμφοδου *ana gagga*: *in bivio* vg. f; *transitum* (*-tus, -tu*) b c d ff² l q; *in platea* a; where two ways met A.V.; in the open street R.V. The Gothic *gagga* is correct.[1]

Mk. xii. 30, 33 διανοιας . . . συνεσεως *gahugdai* . . . *fraþja*: *mente* . . . *intellectu* vg.; mind . . . understanding R.V.

[1] Cf. Ulrich Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien* (1899), vol. i, 432, '*το αμφοδον* ist die in Aegypten übliche bezeichnung für die strasse'.

III

TYPICAL GOTHIC RENDERINGS OF VERBS. ΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ

§ 1. *Verb-aspects.*

It is, however, in the translating of verbal ideas that the Goth finds full play for that native subjectivity of interpretation so characteristic of the Gothic Version as a whole.

The opportunity is afforded by the fact that in Gothic, as in other Aryan languages, the system of formal differentiation between the two main 'modes of action' or 'verb-aspects (in German, '*aktionsarten*') was still a living factor. Generally speaking, the durative action was expressed by the simple verb, whilst in composition the verb took on what is termed perfective action.

This system still leaves traces in mod. German, and even in English; cf., e. g. *greifen* with *ergreifen, begreifen, vergreifen*; *sehen* with *besehen, ersehen, versehen*; so also in English *hold* and *behold, bear* and *forbear, tear* and *to-tear*; cf. also *knock, tear* with *knock down, tear up*, &c. In modern Slavonic this device has been worked out most thoroughly and systematically, and the niceties of the system of verb-aspects constitute the chief difficulty of the student learning Russian.

In Greek, too, the preposition converts a durative verb into a perfective, often losing, as in Gothic, much of its own significance, only here the tense (pres. or aorist) plays a part as well. Cf., e. g. φευγειν flee, and διαφυγειν to escape; διωκειν pursue, and καταδιωκειν to hunt down; τηρειν to watch, and συντηρειν to keep safe.[1] So also in Latin, cf. *facere* with *conficere, efficere*; *sistere* with *consistere*; *sedere* with *considere*.[2]

It is therefore not sufficient, in Gothic, to select a suitable equivalent for the Greek verb and to render it, so far as possible, into the corresponding tense. The action of the verb has to be classified according as it is understood to be:

1. Simply progressing, without reference to its commencement or end,

[1] See p. 82, and cf. Moulton, pp. 112–13.

[2] The Gothic verb-aspects have been treated by Streitberg in *Perfektive und imperfektive aktionsarten in Germ.* (see *PBB.* xv. 70-177); also summarily, in *E. B.* §§ 290 303. For a brief, but original and interesting presentment of the Greek modes of action, see Moulton, *Gram. N. T. Gr., Prolog.*, pp. 108 ff. See also in Karl Brugmann, *Griech. Gram.*, pp. 538 ff. (ed. 4); B. Delbrück, *Perfektivierung durch verbindung mit prepositionen*, in *Vergl. syntax der indog. sprachen*, ii. 146 ff.; P. Giles, *Manual of Comp. Philol.* (ed. 2), pp. 477 ff.

effect or cause. This is termed the DURATIVE ASPECT. E. g. L. xv. 6 *faginoþ miþ mis.*

2. Referred to the moment of its completion and cessation, as bringing to a close some previously existing state or condition. This is known as the EFFECTIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT. E. g. L. ix. 24 ος δ' αν απολεση την ψυχην αυτου *aþþan saei fraqisteiþ saiwalai seinai.*

3. Resulting, at the moment of its completion, in the inception of a state or condition whose continuance extends beyond the speaker's view. This is termed the INGRESSIVE PERFECTIVE. E. g. L. viii. 44 εστη η ρυσις *suns gasloþ sa runs blopis izos.* (*E. B.* § 294, note 2.)

4. To these varieties of aspect it will be convenient to add a fourth, where the speaker takes into his consciousness the progression of the action up to the time of its effective completion. This may be termed the AGGRESSIVE PERFECTIVE. E.g. M. ix. 15 ελευσονται δε ημεραι *atgaggand dagos* 'days (are now approaching and) will come' (p. 51).

The difference between the two aspects, durative and perfective, was expressed, morphologically, by the use of the simple and the compound verb respectively.

By means of this subtle aid to linguistic expression the translator could not only give warmth and colour to his composition, but was able also to impart to his action-picture a stereoscopic effect which is often lacking in the original, and is quite beyond the powers of Latin or English to reproduce.[1]

This distinction in Gothic between the simple and compound verbs did more, however, than impart a fuller degree of expressiveness to the language; it actually invited a visual scrutiny of every verb-picture and encouraged that subjectivity of interpretation which often accounts for differences in the renderings of Greek verbs. The importance of this constant reference to the Gothic view-point becomes apparent when we consider that every revisor, corrector, or scribe might feel differently about any given passage, and this would make it easy for a scribe, by adding or omitting, either by accident or design, some prefix such as *ga-*, *us-*, &c., completely to alter the action-concept of the passage.[2]

[1] Cf. Stolzenburg in *ZfdPh.* xxxvii. p. 377, note 2, 'Der Gote wurde durch den unterschied in der aktionsart . . . in den stand gesetzt syntaktische feinheiten zum ausdruck zu bringen, die nicht im original standen.'

[2] See p. 56, and cf. Streitberg, *PBB.* xv. 81, 'Bei dieser untersuchung darf jedoch ein punkt nicht aus dem auge verloren werden, nämlich die tatsache, dass der übersetzer nicht gezwungen ist, an jeder stelle jede schattierung des originals wiederzugeben.' In L. viii. 16, x. 24, e. g., *ga-* has been prefixed to the wrong verb, although this may be due to homoioteleuton, as is the case in M. viii. 14, J. vii. 31, xiv. 11, Mk. x. 27, where *jah, ei, ni, akei* have been copied into the wrong place.

Further, we do not expect every Goth to have an equally profound knowledge of his mother tongue, nor the same delicate appreciation of idiomatic finesse as the original translators. The Gothic Bible passed through the hands of many men of widely varying degrees of culture and education, and it is, furthermore, conceivable that in the later periods of their Italic sojourn the subtle distinctions of Wulfila were beginning to break down. This, it seems to us, is quite sufficient to account for many disputed cases where the C. A. transgresses against the system expounded by Streitberg in his valuable treatise.

In some instances the use of the durative or perfective is a matter of view-point, and we must here give the C. A. the benefit of the doubt; in others, however, we ought not to scruple too much against proposing the addition, deletion, or transference of the prefix *ga-* if the sense of the passage demands it, for Streitberg's principles are, in the main, correct. Having regard to the fatal facility with which *ga-* &c. could be juggled with by the scribes, it seems a sounder proposition to assume, wherever reasonable, that the text of C. A. is corrupt, than to resort to *tours de force*, as Streitberg occasionally does, in order to bring the reading of C. A. into line with his thesis, or, like A. Beer,[1] to impugn the correctness of Streitberg's theories. But it seems to be the tendency in some quarters to treat the C. A. as if it were the final proof fresh from the author's pen, and to resort to all manner of argument to justify its readings, whatever they be.[2]

We must not lose sight of Kauffmann's theory of 'stilistische versteigerung' (*ZfdPh.* xlviii. 221, 228; see below, p. 82), which may account for a number of apparently pointless variations; e. g. L. vii. 46 *salbodes . . . gasalboda*; but also Kauffmann inclines to subtleties when, as likely as not, the text of C. A. does not merit them. (See loc. cit., p. 227 and notes 1, 2, 3; also p. 228 and notes 1, 2.) A number of these and similar instances may be simple errors; others may be purposed alterations in post-Wulfilian time.

It would be impossible, nor is it necessary, to discuss every aberrant verb-rendering from this point of view, but the detailed criticism of the renderings of the verb ερχεσθαι will not only serve as a contribution to

[1] Ant. Beer, *PBB.* xliii. 446-69. Cf. p. 468, 'Wir . . . glauben nachgewiesen zu haben, dass *gaweisan* . . . nicht perfektiver bedeutung sein kann und dass wir zur perfektiven auffassung der vereinzelten *gaweisan* durch den got. sprachgebrauch gar nicht gezwungen werden; das ist für jeden, der sich von den fesseln der gelehrten, aber recht trügerischen theorie zu befreien weiss, so klar wie möglich . . .'

[2] Cf. the case of L. iv. 21. This passage, with Beer's comments, is fully discussed on pp. 125-6; cf. also L. ix. 56 (pp. 107-8), where we ought perhaps to read *fraqistjan*.

the better appreciation of this feature of the translation, but also provide an explanation for a class of exceptional renderings which would otherwise be puzzling to account for.

The verb ἐρχεσθαι is eminently suitable for our purpose, not only on account of the ample material which this word provides, but because the Latin equivalent, *venire*, being sufficiently comprehensive in meaning, could stand side by side with the Gothic *qiman*, *gaggan*, *atgaggan* without challenging comparison and adjustment, thus excluding the corrupting influence of the Old Latin which explains so many aberrations in the C. A. from the original translation; and because, thirdly, the Greek word itself is so general in its application that it permitted, indeed invited, the Goth to mirror every contextual shade of meaning in the idiom of his own tongue. In this exercise, imagination, as will be seen, occasionally outran discretion.

§ 2. Ερχεσθαι.

The various renderings of this verb, and their distribution, are as follows:

qiman	24	55	48	48	= 175
atgaggan	3	4	2	11	= 20
gaggan	–	12	9	5	= 26
gaqiman	–	1	–	–	
usgaggan	–	1	–	–	
galeiþan	–	2	–	1	
urrinnan	–	–	2	–	= 11
atrinnan	–	–	1	–	
hiri	–	1	–	–	
anawairþs	–	1	–	1	
					232

The constructions may conveniently be separated thus:

1. Absolutely, or with a complement other than such specified below. [We are considering only *qiman, at)gaggan*]:

qiman	13	31	26	25	= 95
atgaggan	2	1	1	5	= 13
gaggan	–	1	3	–	
(*b*) Spec. with infinitive of purpose:					
qiman	4	–	6	2	= 12

2. With adv. compl. of place (usually prepos. phrase):

qiman	6	14	11	16	= 47
atgaggan	–	1	–	2	= 9
gaggan	–	3	1	2	

3. With adv. compl. (prepos. + person-name):

qiman at (*und, ana*, once each)	1	10	5	5	=	21
atgaggan du	1	2	1	4	=	24
gaggan du	–	8	5	3		
						221

The number of passages dealt with in the present section is 20 (*atgaggan*) + 25 (*gaggan*) = 45/231.

The Gothic *qiman*,[1] like Eng. *come*, indicates, in general, arrival at any point, with which the speaker or observer identifies himself, so that whenever he is directly involved the movement is understood to be towards himself. It follows that *qiman* is naturally perfective (*einfache perfektiva*: see *E. B.* § 296), with one or two rare exceptions where the verb is contextually durative, e. g.:

J. x. 12 θεωρει τον λυκον ερχομενον *gasaihviþ wulf qimandan* 'he catches sight of the wolf approaching'; *atgaggandan* would have been better here.

J. xi. 20 ως ηκουσεν οτι Ιησους ερχεται *Marþa, sunsei hausida þatei Iesus qimiþ, wiþraiddja imma*; here *atgaggiþ* would have been correct.

Gaggan, like Eng. *go*, Gk. πορευεσθαι, υπαγειν indicates, in general, progressive movement and, specifically, motion away from the observer; thus πορευεσθαι = *gaggan* 5.9.29.2 = 45 50; υπαγειν = *gaggan* 6.17.3.10 = 36/43. *Gaggan* is durative; *atgaggan*, perfective, is substituted for *qiman* in the cases considered below.

It would not be too far from the truth to say that *qiman* would provide a reasonable rendering—just as *venire* and *come* do duty in Latin and English—for every instance of ερχεσθαι, and, had the Greek word been uniformly so translated, it is doubtful whether any philologist would have challenged the correctness of a single case. This is borne out by a close examination of the 175 passages where *qiman* renders ερχεσθαι.

We shall here confine ourselves to examining the cases where we find *gaggan* or *atgaggan*, endeavouring to justify the choice by a sympathetic understanding of the Gothic view-point, which may not always coincide with our own.

I. *Atgaggan* (perfective) is sometimes used for *qiman* where the thought is not confined to the moment of arrival; in some cases (e. g. M. ix. 15; J. vii. 30; Mk. ii. 20) the progress of the action preceding its completion is taken into the consciousness of the speaker (aggressive perfective). So also when the purpose of the approach is expressed or implied.

[1] Cf. Streitberg, *PBB.* xv. 94 (*gaggan*), 104 (*qiman*).

1. *Atgaggan* absolutely, or except as in 2 and 3 below.

M. v. 24 τοτε ελθων προσφερε το δωρον σου *atgaggands atbair* 'then going up (and carrying the gift as you go) bring your gift to the altar.' The Goth might bluntly have written *qimands atbair*, but this would have been a υστερον προτερον 'on your arrival bring your gift'.[1]

M. ix. 15 and Mk. ii. 20 ελευσονται δε ημεραι *atgaggand dagos* 'days (are now approaching and) will come'; but cf. L. v. 35 and xvii. 22 *aþþan qimand dagos*.

J. vii. 30 ουπω εληλυθει η ωρα αυτου *ni atiddja weila is* '(was approaching but) had not yet arrived'. So also J. vi. 17 *ni atiddja nauhþan du im Iesus*; but J. viii. 20 *nauhþanuh ni qam weila is*; J. xii. 23; xvi. 32; xvii. 1 εληλυθεν *qam*, the second passage being *qimiþ weila jah nu qam*.

L. v. 7 κατενευσαν . . . του ελθοντας συλλαβεσθαι αυτοις, και ηλθον *bandwidedun . . . ei atiddjedeina hilpan ize, jah qemun* 'that they should come along and (on their arrival) help them'. The Goth might have written, carefully rendering ελθοντας in his normal style, '*ei qimandans hulpeina ize, jah qemun*'. The graphic boldness of the C. A. rendering is very striking.[2] Cf., on the other hand, M. ix. 18 ελθων επιθες την χειρα *qimands atlagei*; L. vii. 3 οπως ελθων διασωση *ei qimi jah ganasidedi*; similarly M. viii. 7 *ik qimands gahailja*, ix. 10 *qimandans miþanakumbidedun*; Mk. v. 23 *ei qimands lagjais*.

Mk. v. 27 ελθουσα εν τῳ οχλῳ οπισθεν, ηψατο *atgaggandei in managein aftana attaitok wastjai is* '*going up* (to Jesus) . . . she touched His garment'. This is a graphic touch to which the R. V. 'She came in the crowd behind' does not venture. Cf., however, M. ix. 18 *qimands inwait ina* (vg. *accessit et adorabat eum*).

Mk. xi. 13 ηλθεν ει αρα ευρησει τι εν αυτῃ, και ελθων επ' αυτην . . . *atiddja ei aufto bigeti ƕa ana imma; jah qimands at imma* . . . 'He *walked up* (to it), if haply He might find any thereon, and when He came to it. . .' R. V. has 'He came, if haply . . .' The Gothic is incomparably better here, although *qiman* is also found in like case: cf. above, L. v. 7.

Mk. xiv. 66 ερχεται μια των παιδισκων του αρχιερεως *atiddja aina þiujo þis auhumistins gudjins* 'went up to him'; the R. V. has 'there cometh'. In the Bezan ερχεται προς αυτον, *venit ad illum* a c f (*eum*) ff² k q the same effect is achieved by means of an interpolation from M. xxvi. 69.

[1] The Greek pple., however, denotes nothing more than coincident action: 'go and bring': cf. Moulton, p. 132.

[2] Cf. Stolzenburg, loc. cit., p. 365, and note 2.

Mk. xvi. 1 ινα ελθουσαι αλειψωσιν αυτον *ei atgaggandeins gasalbodedeina ina*, 'they bought spices so that they might *go up* (to the tomb) and anoint Him'. Cf. L. vii. 3 οπως ελθων διασωση *ei qimi jah ganasidedi*, which is yet preferable to a completely literal *qimands ganasidedi*, which is paralleled elsewhere, e. g. M. viii. 7 *ik qimands gahailja ina*. But these primitive renderings are especially common in the first Gospel (cf. p. 158).

2. *Atgaggan* with adverbial compl. of place (almost always a prepositional phrase).

Since the adverbial complement indicating goal of motion demands a perfective verb, it is natural that *qiman* should occur 47 out of 56 times, and that the preposition introducing the complement should take the dative (cf. *E. B.* § 269. Exceptions: J. vi. 14; xi. 27; L. iii. 3; Mk. viii. 10).

J. xvi. 28 εξηλθον παρα του πατρος και εληλυθα εις τον κοσμον *uzuhiddja fram attin jah atiddja in þana fairhu*. In this case *qam* seems more appropriate, but it is just possible, unless *atiddja* is merely a case of contextual attraction, that the words *uzuhiddja fram attin*, suggesting to the imaginative Goth the procession of the Son into the world, determined the choice of *atiddja* and the accus. *þana fairhu*; but cf. J. vi. 14 *sa qimanda in þo manaseþ*; J. xi. 27 *sa in þana fairhu qimanda*; L. iii. 3 *qam* (ηλθεν) *and allans gaujans*; Mk. viii. 10 *qam* (ηλθεν) *ana fera Magdalan*. Cf. also *E. B.* § 269.

Mk. iii. 19 ερχονται εις οικον *atiddjedun in gard*; 'they went' A. V., 'He cometh (ερχεται)' R. V. There seems here no justification for the rendering. Cf. M. viii. 14; ix. 23, 28; L. viii. 51 *qimands in garda*, &c.; Mk. i. 29 *qemun in garda*; J. xii. 12 *qimiþ Iesus in Iaraus-aulwmai*; Mk. x. 46 *qemun in Iairikon*.

Mk. xvi. 2 ερχονται επι το μνημειον *atiddjedun du þamma hlaiwa*. Here *atiddjedun* appropriately anticipates the next verse: *jah qeþun du sis misso: þas afwalwjai unsis þana stain* 'and they were saying (as they were approaching the tomb) . . .' Cf. also xvi. 1 *ei atgaggandeins gasalbodedeina ina*. The R. V. is harsh by comparison 'they come to the tomb when the sun was risen. And they were saying . . .'

3. *Atgaggan* and compl. (prepos. + person-name).

It is worth noting that, in this construction, the perfective *qiman* is followed by *at* in 19 out of 21 passages, whilst *at)gaggan* takes *du* regularly in 24 instances.

M. xxv. 39 (Cod. Ambros. C) ποτε δε σε ειδομεν ασθενη η εν φυλακη και ηλθομεν προς σε *þanuh . . . atiddjedum du þus?* 'when, at any such time, came we unto Thee?' The compound has here an iterative force.

J. vi. 17 ουπω εληλυθει προς αυτους ο Ιησους *ni atiddja nauhþan du im Iesus* '(was approaching but) had not yet arrived'. Cf. above, j. vii. 30.

J. vii. 50 ο ελθων προς αυτον νυκτος *saei* [*scil.* Nicodemus] *atiddja du imma in naht.*

L. xviii. 3 ηρχετο προς αυτον λεγουσα *atiddja du imma qiþandei.*

Mk. ii. 18 ερχονται και λεγουσιν αυτῳ *atiddjedun jah qeþun du imma.*

Mk. v. 15 ερχονται προς τον Ιησουν και θεωρουσιν τον δαιμονιζομενον *atiddjedun du Iesua jah gasaihvand þana wodan.*

Mk. xi. 27 ερχονται προς αυτον *atiddjedun du imma . . . jah qeþun du imma.*

Mk. xii. 18 ερχονται . . . προς αυτον *atiddjedun Saddukaieis du imma . . . jah frehun ina.*

It will be noticed that in the last five quotations the thought is 'went up to Him and (on reaching Him) said, &c.' That is, in Gothic, *atiddjedun du imma jah* (*qimandans*) *qeþun.*

Wherever *atgaggan* translates ερχεσθαι may be observed the tendency of the Goth to view the action from the actor's standpoint, and, associating himself with the agent, to describe the action rather than merely to chronicle the bare result.

II. The use of the durative *gaggan* illustrates this subjective participation carried even further, and the strong visual imagination of the Goth has given us a text more in keeping with the freedom of the pulpit than the conservative style of a careful translator of the Holy Scriptures. Some of the following passages can be described only as misinterpretations of the Greek, unless, indeed, we prefer to emend the Argentean text.

1. *Gaggan* used absolutely, except as below.

J. xii. 22 ερχεται Φιλιππος και λεγει τῳ Ανδρεᾳ *gaggiþ F. jah qiþiþ du A.* (R. V. cometh, vg. *venit*). *Gaggiþ* can here be interpreted only as = πορευεται 'goes to Andrew'. The Goth not only describes the action from Philip's standpoint, but fails to indicate its completion by the normal and correct method of using a perfective verb such as *qiman* (*at*) or *atgaggan* (*du*).

L. iii. 16 ερχεται δε ο ισχυροτερος μου *iþ gaggiþ swinþoza mis.* Here also, *gaggiþ* = πορευεται 'one mightier than I is on his way hither'; one misses the implied certainty of his arrival. Cf. Mk. i. 7 *qimiþ swinþoza mis.*

L. x. 1 οὗ εμελλεν αυτος ερχεσθαι *þadei munaida is gaggan.* 'Into every city and place that He intended to make for' would be a fair rendering of the Gothic. Cf. δ *quo erat iturus*, vg. *quo erat ipse venturus*, R. V. was about to come.

L. xiv. 17 ερχεσθε *gaggiþ* 'Come, for all things are now ready' (R. V.).

In M. viii. 9; L. vii. 8 we have *qim* (+*her* L.), *jah qimiþ*; cf. also J. xi. 34 *hiri*. Decidedly *gaggiþ* here = υπαγε. The Goth, interpreting ερχεσθε as a command rather than as an invitation, used the centurion's word of command (πορευθητι *gagg*).

2. *Gaggan* with adv. compl. of place (cf. *atgaggan*).

J. vi. 17 ηρχοντο περαν της θαλασσης εις Καπερναουμ *iddjedunuh ufar marein in Kafarnaum*, i.e. 'they proceeded over-seas to C.'. The Greek imperfect may be responsible for the durative *iddjedun*; cf. Mk. xi. 15, 27.

J. xi. 38 ερχεται εις το μνημειον *gaggiþ du þamma hlaiwa*. Cf. Mk. xvi. 2 *atiddjedun* (ερχονται) *du þamma hlaiwa*.

J. xviii. 3 ερχεται εκει μετα φανων *iddjuh jaindwairþs miþ skeimam*. Cf. J. xi. 8 υπαγεις εκει *gaggis jaind*: perhaps *jaindwairþs* is responsible for the use of *gaggan* especially if, as seems likely, *jaindwairþs* is an adjective (Streitberg, *IF.* xxvii. 151 ff.; see also *W. B.*).

L. viii. 49 ερχεται τις *gaggiþ sums manne fram þis fauramaþleis swnagogeis*. R. V. there cometh.

Mk. xi. 15, 27 ερχονται εις Ιερ. *iddjedun du Iair*. cf. J. xii. 12; L. iv. 16; Mk. i. 14; viii. 22, and many other cases where *qiman* stands with place-names.

3. *Gaggan* followed by prep.+pronoun or person-name. In some of the following 16 quotations there is no doubt that *gaggan* has been deliberately and skilfully chosen; the remarks on others must be understood as an attempt to justify the Goth's choice, if it was intentional, and not as an assertion that such was actually the case.

J. vi. 5 θεασαμενος οτι οχλος πολυς ερχεται προς αυτον *gaumida þammei manageins filu iddja du imma* 'was on its way to meet Him'.

J. vi. 35 ο ερχομενος προς με ου μη πεινασῃ *þana gaggandan du mis ni huggreiþ*; 'he that cometh to me' R. V. Here, as in the next instance, *þana qimandan* seems preferable in the light of our interpretation of these passages.

The Gothic rendering, however, if deliberate, reveals a generosity of interpretation that does the barbarian credit. The Greek, after all, says ερχομενος, not ελθων; the pilgrim who follows in Christ's footsteps, at however great an interval, shall not thirst; the water of life is a reward not for those alone who reach the goal, but is freely given to all who seek Him, however humble the endeavour. This and the next passage derive their exegetical justification from J. vi. 45 πας ουν ο ακουων . . . ερχεται προς με *gaggiþ du mis* 'is making progress in my direction; is on his way to me'. Nothing is implied as to the ultimate goal.

J. vi. 37 τον ερχομενον προς με ου μη εκβαλω εξω *þana gaggandan du mis*

ni uswairpa ut. As in the previous passage, no one will be rejected who sets his face towards the Light, even though he stop far short of his ideal. With this passage cf. M. xi. 3; L. vii. 19 συ ει ο ερχομενος *þu is sa qimanda* (perfective) 'He that is to come', that is, to arrive.

J. vi. 45 πας ουν ο ακουων παρα του πατρος και μαθων ερχεται προς με *gaggiþ du mis.*

J. vii. 37 εαν τις διψᾳ ερχεσθω προς με και πινετω *gaggai du mis jah driggkai.* Here *qimai* seems the only possible rendering.

J. xi. 29 εγειρεται ταχυ και ερχεται προς αυτον *urrais sprauto jah iddja du imma* 'got up and *went to meet him*' (and went unto him R. V.). Here the use of the durative *iddja* is justified by the following context: see vv. 31–2.

J. xvii. 11, 13 προς σε ερχομαι *du þus gagga.* Here *gagga* is correct [cf. v. 11 *vado* Z* (corr. Z^3)], being = πορευομαι.

L. vi. 47 ο ερχομενος προς με και ακουων μου των λογων κτλ. *sa gaggands du mis jah hausjands.*

L. xiv. 26 ει τις ερχεται προς με κτλ. *gaggiþ du mis.* With the last two passages cf. above, J. vii. 37. The present passage is perhaps affected by the context, cf. v. 27 *saei ni bairiþ galgan seinana jah gaggai* (ερχεται) *afar mis.*

L. xiv. 31 τῳ μετα εικοσι χιλιαδων ερχομενῳ επ' αυτον *þamma . . . gaggandin ana sik* 'on the march against him'; *qimandin* would have been a correct, if less vigorous rendering. Cf. J. xviii. 4 *iþ Iesus witands alla þoei qemun ana ina,* where complete perfectivity is indicated.

L. xviii. 16; Mk. x. 14 αφετε τα παιδια ερχεσθαι προς με *gaggan du mis.* One would expect *qiman* here, or *atgaggan*; perhaps the Gothic amounts to something like 'let them go' (cf. above, L. xiv. 17), as if = αφετε αυτους πορευεσθαι, 'let them proceed', the speaker identifying himself with the children's point of view. In J. vi. 44 *ni manna mag qiman* (ελθειν) *at mis* 'may reach me', the perfective *qiman* is in complete harmony with the Greek text.

Mk. i. 45 και ηρχοντο προς αυτον πανταχοθεν *iddjedun du imma allaþro* 'kept coming'; *iddjedun* is quite in keeping with the Greek imperfect, and renders the iterative aspect of the verb; cf. vg. *conveniebant ad eum undique.*

Mk. ii. 13 και πας ο οχλος ηρχετο προς αυτον *jah all manageins iddjedun du imma.* Cf. the preceding, and vg. *omnisque turba veniebat ad eum.*

In reviewing the cases where ερχεσθαι is rendered by *gaggan* and *atgaggan,* we have seen that the rendering was not always dictated by

necessity. Some passages seemed, in our judgement, to require *atgaggan* or *qiman* in preference to *gaggan*, others *qiman* rather than *atgaggan*; nor were instances wanting where our choice seemed justified by the renderings of parallel or similar passages. Conversely, where we approved of *gaggan* or *atgaggan*, there were passages that read *qiman*.

Again, if we examine the 175 passages where ερχεσθαι is represented by *qiman*, we shall find quite a number, apart from those referred to just now, where *atgaggan* would make at least as good a rendering as *qiman*. Such are e. g. M. vii. 15; ix. 18; J. viii. 20; ix. 4; x. 12; xi. 20; xii. 12, 15; xiv. 30; xvi. 2, 25; xviii. 37; L. iv. 42; v. 35; xvii. 22; xviii. 30; Mk. i. 7; vii. 25.

In Mk. xv. 21 Σιμωνα Κυρηναιον, ερχομενον απ' αγρου *qimandan af akra*, we should prefer *atgaggandan* 'as he was on his way from the country to the town', to *qimandan* 'on his arrival from the country'.

Nor is there any cogent reason why, in L. viii. 49, we should have ερχεται τις παρα του αρχισυναγωγου *gaggiþ sums manne*, but in Mk. i. 40 ερχεται προς αυτον λεπρος *qam at imma þrutsfill habands*; true, the former passage is introduced by the phrase *nauhþan imma rodjandin*, which may have influenced the choice of *gaggiþ*.

This lack of uniformity is not surprising, where the distinctions involved border on the subtle. It is extremely unlikely that any one translator would interpret every similar case alike, nor are we entitled to expect it.[1] Furthermore, we have reason to suppose that the text of C. A. is not homogeneous throughout the Gospels, but goes back to more than one type of text,[2] and it is also certain that the Gothic version has been constantly exposed to revisions and minor changes of various kinds. There is often little to choose between *qiman* and *atgaggan*; the latter would often be a plausible substitute for *gaggan*; *gaggan* might, again, be a scribal lapsus for *atgaggan*, and yet not offend the casual eye, especially as the Goth, whilst giving a great deal of consideration to the Old Latin version, does not seem to have had an authorized and traditional text of his own.

On the whole, however, palpable errors are remarkably few, and doubtful cases must be left to the translator's judgement. There is no sign that the Goth mechanically translated presents and imperfects by duratives, and the aorists by perfectives. As a specimen of the translator's skill in this respect, let the reader compare the following passages with the Greek, the Vulgate, and the R. V. It will be seen

[1] See above, p. 47.

[2] See chapters xi, xviii.

that his use of the durative or perfective depends on the interpretation, not on the tense, of the original.

L. viii. 10 *Izwis atgiban ist* (δεδοται) *kunnan* (γνωναι) *runos þiudinassaus gudis; iþ þaim anþaraim in gajukom, ei saihvandans ni gasaihvaina* (βλεποντες μη βλεπωσιν), *jah gahausjandans ni fraþjaina* (ακουοντες μη συνιωσιν).

'You have been endowed (perfective) with the knowledge (durative) of the mysteries of the K. of God, but the rest (have been given parables) that, although possessing sight (durative) they might not truly perceive (perfective), [*scil.* what they have seen], and that, even when they have heard and understood (perfective), they might not be able truly to interpret them (perfective).'

It is by no means certain whether to read *hausjandans* (ακουοντες), thus restoring the balance between *saihvandans : gasaihvaina* and *hausjandans : fraþjaina*, or to keep the C. A. reading which substitutes a good climatic rendering for the simpler arrangement of the original Greek.

I have attempted to do justice to the Argentean reading which Streitberg does not reject: see *G. B.*, note ad loc., and *PBB.* xv. 83; Kauffmann (*ZfdPh.* xlviii. 227, note 3) also favours *gahausjandans*.

J. viii. 21 *Ik galeiþa* (υπαγω) . . . *þadei ik gagga* (υπαγω) *jus ni maguþ qiman* (ελθειν) 'I shall depart from hence (perf.), and ye shall seek me . . . whither I am about to go (durat.) ye cannot come-to (perf.).' Cf. the R. V. 'I go away . . . whither I go ye cannot come.'

L. ix. 24 *saei allis wili saiwala seina nasjan* (σωσαι), *fraqisteiþ* (απολεσει) *izai; aþþan saei fraqisteiþ* (ος δ' αν απολεση) *saiwalai seinai in meina, ganasjiþ* (σωσει) *þo.*

'The man who lives in the endeavour to preserve his life unto the world (durative), shall surely lose it [? has by so endeavouring already forfeited it].' The durative *nasjan*, contrasting with the irrevocably perfective *fraqisteiþ*, gives the passage an entirely new significance. The parallels to the last passage, however, read *ganasjan*: see p. 108.

IV

FURTHER EXAMPLES (VERBS)

Before leaving this subject, we will briefly deal with a few of the more important words illustrating the high degree of accuracy of the Gothic verb-renderings and the keen exegetical sense with which they were treated.

Γιγνωσκειν.

This verb falls into three sense-groups:

1. To know (as a fact) = *scire, wissen, savoir*: *witan* 2.5.4.3 = 14.
2. To be acquainted with a person, matter, or thing; to know, understand = *cognoscere, kennen, connaître*: *kunnan* 1.19.5.3 = 28.
3. To get to know; to become aware of; to learn, realize, perceive:

ufkunnan	1.17.3.1	= 22.
finþan	0.1.1.2	= 4.
fraþjan	0.2.1.2	= 5.
gakunnan	0.0.2.0	= 2.

Witan and *kunnan* are durative verbs; in the latter, the accompanying circumstances are expressed or implied, and a longer action-time is kept in view; *ufkunnan* is ingressive-perfective, and sometimes aggressive-perfective, when the time preceding the moment of completed knowledge is included in the consciousness of the speaker.

E. g. J. xiii. 12 γινωσκετε τι πεποιηκα υμιν *witudu ƕa gatawida izwis*? vg. f *scitis*.

M. vii. 23 ουδεποτε εγνων υμας *ni ƕanhun kunþa izwis* 'I was never acquainted with you'; vg. f *novi*.

J. xiv. 9 τοσουτον χρονον μεθ' υμων ειμι, και ουκ εγνωκας με, Φιλιππε *jah ni ufkunþes mik*? 'have you not yet learned to know me?' Cf. A. V. yet hast thou not known me; R. V. dost thou not know me?

We have in J. xvii. 25 an excellent instance of the fine distinctions which the Goth loved to draw: *so manaseþs þuk ni ufkunþa* (εγνω); *iþ ik þuk kunþa* (εγνων). *jah þai ufkunþedun* (εγνωσαν) *þatei þu mik insandides*. 'The world has never yet known (got to know) Thee, but I always knew Thee (have known Thee all the time). And these have learned that Thou

didst send me.' Cf. the uniformity of vg. *cognovit . . . cognovi . . . cognoverunt*; R. V. knew.

With reference to this passage Moulton says (p. 113): 'The present simplex, γιγνωσκειν, is durative, "to be taking in knowledge". The simplex aorist has point-action, generally effective, meaning "ascertain, realize", but occasionally (as in J. xvii. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 19) it is constative: εγνων σε gathers into one perspective all the successive moments of γιγνωσκω σε in J. xvii. 3.'

Now it is this aorist, when the meaning is 'to get to know; to learn, realize', which in the C. A. is translated by *ufkunnan*, which stands for the aorist γνωναι 11 times, for the future 5, and for the perfect 3 = 19/20 times. The only exception is L. vii. 39 εγινωσκεν αν *ufkunþedi þau*.

But *ufkunnan* also translates επιγνωναι 2.0.2.3 = 7/9[1]; and of this verb Moulton[2] says 'Επιγνωναι, "find out, determine", is rather more decisive than the γνωναι (effective); but in the present stem it seems to differ from γιγνωσκειν by including the goal in the picture of the journey there—it tells of knowledge already gained. Thus 1 Cor. xiii. 12 may be paraphrased, "Now I am acquiring knowledge which is only partial at best: then I shall have learnt my lesson, shall *know*, as God in my mortal life knew me".' Now in this passage the Greek has γινωσκω . . . επιγνωσομαι, for which the Gothic has *wait* . . . *ufkunna*.

This goes to confirm our equation: επιγνωναι = *ufkunnan* = (in certain cases) γνωναι.[3]

The renderings of γιγνωσκειν are thus distributed:

1. (*witan*). M. vi. 3; ix. 30; J. vii. 27; xiii. 12, 28; xvi. 19; xix. 4; L. ii. 43; x. 11; xviii. 34; xix. 42; Mk. vii. 24; ix. 30; xv. 10.
2. (*kunnan*). M. vii. 23; J. vi. 15; vii. 49; viii. 43, 55; x. 14 (*bis*), 15 (*bis*), 27; xii. 16; xiv. 7 (*ter*), 17 (*bis*); xv. 18; xvii. 3, 23, 25; L. i. 18, 34; viii. 10; x. 22; xvi. 15; Mk. iv. 11, 13; xiii. 28.
3. (*ufkunnan*). M. x. 26; J. vi. 69; vii. 17, 26, 51; viii. 28, 32, 52; x. 38; xiii. 35; xiv. 9, 20, 31; xvi. 3; xvii. 7, 25 (*bis*); L. vii. 39; viii. 46; xix. 44; Mk. v. 29.
4. (*finþan* 'to find out'). J. xii. 9; L. ix. 11; Mk. v. 43; xv. 45.
5. (*fraþjan* 'to perceive'). J. viii. 27; x. 6; L. xx. 19; Mk. viii. 17; xii. 12.
6. Also *gakunnan* L. viii. 17; xix. 15; *uskunþs ist* L. vi. 44; *andþahta mik* L. xvi. 4.[4]

[1] The other renderings are L. i. 4 *gakunnan*; i. 22 *fraþjan*: see p. 101.
[2] Moulton, *Proleg.*, p. 113.
[3] The relationship between *kunþa* and *ufkunþa* has been dealt with by A. Beer in his *Tři Studie*, i. 130–3, which unfortunately I have not been able to consult. See also Streitberg in *PBB.* xv. 149 ff.
[4] See below, p. 179.

As in the case of ερχεσθαι, something depends upon the personal element in deciding the precise shade of meaning to attach to the Greek text, and the reader who examines these references may not always approve the Gothic rendering. For instance, *ufkunnan* would stand equally well for *witan* in M. vi. 3 ; Mk. vii. 24 ; ix. 30. E. g. Mk. ix. 30 *jah ni wilda ei has wissedi* (ινα τις γνῳ), 'He would not that any man should know it' R. V. 'That any man should get to know it (*ufkunþedi*)' would have been in keeping with the Goth's more ambitious efforts. In M. ix. 30 *saihvats ei manna ni witi* (γινωσκετω) the Greek present may contra-indicate the use of *ufkunnan*, which in no instance represents the present tense of γιγνωσκειν. With J. xix. 4 *ei witeiþ* (ινα γνωτε, *sciatis* a e f q r) *þatei in imma ni ainohun fairino bigat* cf. J. xiv. 31 *ci ufkunnai* (ινα γνῳ) *so manaseþs þatei ik frijoda attan meinana.*

In J. xvi. 19 *Iesus wissuh þatei wildedun ina fraihnan*, '*kunþa*' seems slightly preferable (cf. A. V. knew, R. V. perceived), as in the parallel case J. vi. 15 *Iesus kunnands* (γνους) *þatei munaidedun usgaggan jah wilwan ina*, whilst in L. xviii. 34 ουκ εγινωσκον τα λεγομενα *ni wissedun þo qiþanona* is decidedly wrong: *kunþedun* is here the right word; cf. vg. *intellegebant*, A. V. knew, R. V. perceived.

In group 2, *ufkunnum* is to be preferred to the C. A. reading of L. i. 18 κατα τι γνωσομαι τουτο *bihe kunnum þata*, and would read better in J. xvii. 23 *ei . . . kunnei so manaseþs*; but here the Greek has ινα γινωσκῃ. J. viii. 55 ουκ εγνωκατε αυτον *ni kunnuþ ina* is wrong; *kunþeduþ* or *ufkunþeduþ* would be correct, as in J. xvii. 25. The vg. has *non cognovistis*, but cf. *nescitis* f, *non scitis* e.

In L. x. 22 *ni þvahun kann þas ist sunus* (vg. *scit*; *cognoscit* c d e) *wait* would seem to be the better rendering, and in Mk. iv. 13 *ni wituþ* (οιδατε) *þo gajukon jah þaiwa allos þos gajukons kunneiþ* (γνωσεσθε) perhaps *ufkunneiþ*.

A striking contrast to the delicate discrimination of the Gothic is afforded by the non-committal renderings of the A. V., whilst in the vg. and the Old Lat., *scire*, *novi*, and *cognovi* alternate in grotesque and barbarous confusion. Cf. e.g. J. viii. 55 *ego autem novi eum : et si dixero quia non scio eum, ero similis vobis mendax.*

Οιδα occurs with the following meanings:

1. To know (a fact) = γιγνωσκειν (1): *witan* 6.23.9.10.
2. To be acquainted with a person, matter, or thing = γιγνωσκειν (2) *kunnan* 2.17.2.6.

Since οιδα has only present meaning we should, *a priori*, expect this verb to be represented chiefly by durative verbs. Nor is there any objection against the exclusive use, in these passages, of *witan* and *kunnan*;

nevertheless *ufkunnan* 'to get to know, to perceive' would have been appropriate in the case of M. ix. 6; Mk. ii. 10 *ei witeiþ* (ειδητε) *þatei waldufni habaiþ sa sunus mans*, and Mk. v. 33 *witandei* (ειδυια) *þatei warþ bi ija*, which are paralleled by J. x. 38 and Mk. v. 29, where *ufkunnan* renders the aorist γνωναι in exactly the same sense.

We can only suppose that the Greek οιδα, being so strongly associated with the aspect of *witan* and *kunnan*, hardly admitted of any other rendering, even when the context was conducive to interpretation in a perfective sense.[1] In M. ix. 4 *witands* (ειδως) *Iesus þos mitonins*, and L. vi. 8 *wissuh* (ηδει) *mitonins ize, kunnands* and *kunþa* would seem at least equally good.

The following illustrate the use of *witan* and *kunnan*:

J. xiv. 5 κυριε, ουκ οιδαμεν που υπαγεις, και πως δυναμεθα την οδον ειδεναι *frauja, ni witum hvaþ gaggis, jah hvaiwa magum þana wig kunnan?*

Cf. R. V. know . . . know; vg. *nescimus . . . scire.*

J. xvi. 30 νυν οιδαμεν οτι οιδας παντα *nu witum ei þu kant alla.*

Ερωταν has the following meanings:

1.	To ask a question	*fraihnan*	1.12.16.24.
2.	To ask a favour, to beseech	*bidjan*	0.6.7.2.
		[*haihait*]	0.0.1.0.

The two senses are perfectly distinguished. In Mk. x. 17, however, *knussjands baþ ina*, &c., should read *frah*. Here *baþ* is a contextual assimilation (see p. 237).

In L. v. 3 *haihait* (ηρωτησεν) *ina aftiuhan*, &c., the Goth has preferred to give to Christ's request the force of a command, whence f *iussit*. Cf. R. V. asked; vg. *rogavit*; *dixit* c [v. 4]. See p. 132.

Λυειν, απολυειν, καταλυειν are thus distributed.[2]

Λυειν	1.	To break (the law)	*gatairan*	1.2.0.0.
	2.	To untie, loose	*andbindan*	0.1.2.5.
Απολυειν	1.	To dismiss, acquit, forgive	*fraletan*	2.3.4.6.
	2.	To put away (a wife)	*afletan* 2.0.2.3. *afsaljan* (2).	
Καταλυειν	1.	To destroy, break	*gatairan*	1.0.0.2.
	2.	To halt, rest, lodge	(*us*)*saljan*	0.0.2.0.

Συλλαβειν occurs in various senses, each appropriately rendered, viz. L. v. 7 (to help) *hilpan*; L. v. 9 (take fish) *þanzei ganutun*; J. xviii. 12;

[1] Cf. Moulton, p. 109, 'The perfect action is a variety by itself, denoting what began in the past and still continues: thus from the "point" root *weidō* "discover, descry" comes the primitive perfect οιδα "I discovered (ειδον) and still enjoy the results", i. e. "I know".'

[2] Viz. λυειν (1) M. v. 19; J. vii. 23; x. 35; (2) J. xi. 44; L. iii. 16; xix. 30; Mk. i. 7; vii. 35 (pass. *andbundnan*); xi. 2, 4, 5; απολυειν (1) M. xxvii. 15, 17; J. xviii. 39; xix. 10, 12; L. ii. 29; vi, 37; viii. 38; ix. 12; Mk. viii. 3, 9; xv. 6, 9, 11, 15; (2) *afletan*: M. v. 31, 32; L. xvi. 18 (*bis*); Mk. x. 4, 11, 12; *afsaljan*: M. v. 32; Mk. x. 2; καταλυειν (1) M. v. 17; Mk. xiv. 58; xv. 29; (2) L. ix. 12; xix. 7.

Mk. xiv. 48 (take prisoner) *undgripun, greipan*; L. i. 24, 31, 36; ii. 21 (conceive) *inkilþo warþ, ganimis in kilþein, ganumans in wamba.*

Πεμπειν occurs as	*sandjan*	0.21.3.0.
	insandjan	1.2.5.1.

Sandjan in no less than 20 instances represents the Greek aorist. Both verbs are perfective, the difference being that in the case of *insandjan* the arrival at the destination is kept in view. *Sandjan* may therefore be rendered by the Ger. *absenden*, and *insandjan* by *hinsenden, zusenden*. The prefix is thus not an index of perfectivity of action, but has only a directive force. Cf. Moulton's note on γνωναι and επιγνωναι quoted above (p. 59).

In 18 out of the 21 passages where *sandjan* occurs in John[1] there recurs the phrase ο πεμψας με *saei sandida mik*, with the oblique cases τον πεμψαντα με κτλ. represented by *þana sandjandan mik*, &c. In all these passages the thought is of the Father sending, not of the Son arrived.

A good example is J. xiii. 20 '*Saei andnimiþ þana þanei ik insandja* (πεμψω), *mik andnimiþ; iþ saei mik andnimiþ, andnimiþ þana sandjandan mik* (τον πεμψαντα με).' That is, 'He that receives him whom I shall send (to you), receives me; and he that receives me, receives the One sending me.' This is a refinement of expression to which the other versions have not attained.

In two passages the C. A. has *sandjan* where we should have preferred *insandjan*, viz. J. xiv. 26 *parakletus . . . þanei sandeiþ* (πεμψει) *atta . . . sa izwis laiseiþ allata*; J. xvi. 7 *jabai ik ni galeiþa, parakletus ni qimiþ at izwis*; *aþþan jabai gagga, sandja* (πεμψω) *ina du izwis.*

In both passages there is implied a definitive promise that they will receive the Spirit, for which reason *insandjan* is indicated; cf. J. xv. 26 *þan qimiþ parakletus þanei ik insandja* (πεμψω) *izwis fram attin.*

In L. xx. 11, 12 προσεθετο πεμψαι ετερον δουλον *anaaiauk sandjan* the use of the simple verb is occasioned by the preceding verb on which it is dependent; we may translate 'once again he dispatched'. Hence perhaps *sandja* in v. 13 *sandja* (πεμψω) *sunu meinana*, but here again the thought may be 'I will let my Son go'.

Αποστελλειν is regularly represented by *insandjan* 2.15.18.19 = 54/60 times. In four passages, viz. the parallels M. x. 40 = L. x. 16 and L. ix. 48 = Mk. ix. 37, the Greek τον αποστειλαντα με is rendered by *þana sandjandan mik* (*þamma sandjandin mik* L. x. 16), apparently after the rendering of the more usual τον πεμψαντα με κτλ. The remaining two renderings,

[1] J. vi. 38, 40, 44; vii. 16, 28, 33; viii. 16, 18, 26, 29; ix. 4; xii. 44, 45, 49; xiii. 20; xiv. 24; xv. 21; xvi. 5. Cf. also J. xiii. 16 *nih apaustaulus maiza þamma sandjandin sik* (τον πεμψαντος αυτον).

L. iv. 19 *fraletan* (p. 176) and Mk. v. 10 *usdreiban* (p. 181) are discussed in chapter xiii.

Εξαποστελλειν (L. i. 53 ; xx. 10, 11) is translated by *insandjan.*

Καταβαινειν will serve as an example of a verb with multiple rendering.

1. To climb down (literally, as from a tree, cross, house-top) : *atsteigan* ;
M. xxvii. 42 *atsteigadau nu af þamma galgin.*
L. xvii. 31 *ni atsteigai dalaþ* (from the house-top).
L. xix. 5, 6 *dalaþ atsteig . . . atstaig* (from the tree).
Mk. xv. 30 *atsteig af þamma galgin.*

Also fig. of the Son of Man in J. vi. 38 *atstaig us himina,* and vi. 33 *hlaifs gudis . . . saei atstaig us himina.* Thus also J. vi. 41, 42, 50, 58 *atsteigands,* &c. Once only, J. vi. 51, we have an isolated rendering in *sa us himina qumana,* for which see pp. 76, 97.

2. To come or walk down (e. g. a mountain); to go down, also of fire, rain, the Holy Ghost (that 'came down') to descend : *atgaggan* (*dalaþ,* &c.).
M. vii. 25, 27 *atiddja dalaþ rign.*
M. viii. 1 *dalaþ þan atgaggandin imma af fairgunja.*
M. xi. 23 (see Appendix).
J. vi. 16 *atiddjedun siponjos is ana marein.*
L. iii. 22 *atiddja ahma sa weiha . . . ana ina.*
L. vi. 17 *atgaggands dalaþ* (from the mountain).
L. ix. 54 *fon atgaggai us himina.*
Mk. i. 10 *ahman swe ahak atgaggandan ana ina.*
Mk. ix. 9 *dalaþ þan atgaggandam im af þamma fairgunja.*

3. To 'go down' to a place (considered to be of less importance). Here we find a variety of renderings, as might be expected.
L. ii. 51 *iddja miþ im jah qam in Nazaraiþ* (και κατεβη).
L. x. 30 *galaiþ af Iairusalem in Iaireikon.*
L. xviii. 14 *atiddja* (κατεβη). .. *du garda seinamma* (*scil.* from the temple).
Mk. iii. 22 *af Iairusaulwmai qimandans* (καταβαντες).

The distinction between *atsteigan* and *atgaggan* is quite clear, and these words incidentally exemplify to what extent the adverbial prefixes tend to lose their force when used as an index of perfectivity.[1] In the passages we have quoted, the force of *at* is little more than vaguely directive, and has to be precisioned by the addition of

(1) *dalaþ*	6 times.
(2) a preposition	13 times.
(3) both	twice.

[1] This happens in other languages where the preposition functions in this way. Cf. Moulton, pp. 111–12.

Εχειν, usually rendered by *haban*, is in a number of cases represented by *aigan* where possession is indicated, no such distinction being made in vg. or in R.V.

E.g. M. viii. 20 *fauhons grobos aigun* (p. 239); J. vi. 40 *aigi libain aiweinon.* This distinction is not, however, systematically observed.[1] The other passages where *εχειν* = *aigan* are: J. vi. 47; viii. 41; x. 10, 16; xvi. 15, 33; xix. 7, 10, 11; L. iii. 8; ix. 58; xv. 4, 11; xvi. 1 (*aihta fauragaggjan*); xvii. 7; xx. 28, 33; Mk. xii. 6, 23.

Δεικνυναι (υπο-, επι-) regularly = *at)augjan* 1.3.5.8 (= vg. *ostendere*, R. V. shew), in the sense 'to exhibit, allow to be seen'.[2]

In Mk. xiv. 15, however, *sa izwis taikneiþ kelikn mikilata*, the sense is 'will point out to you', which is most fittingly rendered by *taikneiþ*; cf. vg. *demonstrabit*, but A. V., R. V. shew. So also L. iii. 7 *þas gataiknida izwis þliuhan* vg. *ostendit* R. V. who warned you; L. x. 1 *ustaiknida* vg. *designavit* R. V. the Lord appointed 70 others.

Ειναι. This is one of the very few words for which my material is incomplete. From the 84 passages that I have examined (*wisan* 57, *wairþan* 27), it appears that

1. *ειναι*, when durative, i.e. in the present and past tenses, is rendered regularly by *wisan*.

2. *εσεσθαι* (perfective), is regularly translated by *wairþan*.[3]

This is what we should expect, and wherever, in these passages, *εσεσθαι* is represented by *wairþan*, the future is perfective.

There are, however, 9 instances where *εσεσθαι* is translated by *wisan*, and they are worth examining in detail.

J. viii. 36 *εαν ουν ο υιος υμας ελευθερωση, οντως ελευθεροι εσεσθε* *jabai nu sunus izwis frijans briggiþ, bi sunjai frijai sijuþ.*

J. viii. 55 *εαν ειπω . . . εσομαι ομοιος υμων ψευστης* *jabai qiþjau þatei ni kunnjau ina, sijau galeiks izwis liugnja.*

J. xii. 26 *εκει ο διακονος ο εμος εσται* *wisan habaiþ.*

J. xiv. 17 *παρ' υμιν μενει και εν υμιν εσται* *miþ izwis wisiþ jah in izwis ist.*

L. i. 34 *πως εσται τουτο* *haiwa sijai þata?*

L. ix. 41 (see also Mk. ix. 19) *εως ποτε εσομαι προς υμας και ανεξομαι υμων* *und hva siau at izwis jah þulau izwis.*

Mk. ix. 19 *εως ποτε προς υμας εσομαι* *und hva at izwis sijau? und hva þulau izwis?*

[1] Cf. L. v. 24 *walduſni habaid sa sunus mans . . . afletan frawaurhtins*; J. xix. 10 *walduſni aih ushramjan þuk*; L. xviii. 22 *all þatei habais frabugei.*

[2] Viz. (*δεικνυναι*) M. viii. 4; J. x. 32; xiv. 8, 9; L. iv. 5; v. 14; Mk. i. 44; (*υποδεικνυναι*) L. vi. 47; (*επιδεικνυναι*) L. xvii. 14; xx. 24.

[3] Cf. Streitberg, *E.B.* § 302b, 'an nicht weniger als 48 stellen tritt *wairþan* für *εσομαι* ein'.

Mk. x. 8 και εσονται οι δυο εις σαρκα μιαν *jah sijaina þo twa du leika samin.*

Mk. x. 43, 44 ουχ ουτως δε εσται εν υμιν· αλλ' ος εαν θελη γενεσθαι μεγας εν υμιν, εσται υμων διακονος, . . . εσται παντων δουλος. *iþ ni swa sijai in izwis; ak . . . sijai izwar andbahts . . . sijai allaim skalks.*

The use of *wisan* is justified by the manifestly durative aspect of the Greek futures in these passages.

The passage from L. i. 34 is quoted by Streitberg (*E. B.* § 301 d) as an example of the optative expressing the durative future. This is not the case here, however, since the choice of *wisan* competently expresses the durativeness of the verb; the optative is, independently of this, the potential optative which Streitberg illustrates a few sections below (308 a), and may be rendered 'How can this (possibly) be?' Cf. J. vii. 36 τις εστιν ουτος ο λογος *ƕa sijai þata waurd*; also J. xvi. 18 *ƕa sijai þatei qiþiþ.* Similarly in the case of L. ix. 41 and Mk. ix. 19.

The citations from J. viii. 36 (xii. 26), xiv. 17 also show how the indicative of *wisan* is by itself competent to express the durative future. The optative in J. viii. 55 is conditional: see *E. B.* § 367 (3), note.

Mk. x. 8 has been interpreted, or misinterpreted, by the Goth in a jussive sense 'Let them be of one flesh'. Similarly Mk. x. 43 *ni swa sijai in izwis* 'Let it not be so in your case . . . let him be the servant of all'.

Streitberg, § 301 d, cites only three passages illustrating the optative = durative future. One of these, L. i. 34, we have already discussed. In the case of J. v. 47 we have a conditional clause with *þande* instead of *jabai* (cf. § 367. 1, note 2), whilst in Mk. iv. 13 *ni wituþ þo gajukon, jah ƕaiwa allos þos gajukons kunneiþ*, the second sentence shows the same construction as L. i 34 'How can you (possibly) know all the parables?' Or, alternatively, the whole may be looked upon as a virtual conditional. In any case, *kunnan* is durative (see pp. 58 ff.).

Two renderings remain to be noticed:

M. v. 25 ισθι ευνοων *sijais waila hugjands andastauin þeinamma sprauto.* The durative *sijais* sounds odd: one would have expected *wairþais.* Perhaps the thought is 'Agree with your adversary, *and keep on good terms with him*, without delay'.

J. ix. 16 σχισμα ην εν αυτοις *missaqiss warþ miþ im.* This is the only instance I have noticed where ην = *warþ*; still, the ingressive *warþ* is here more plausible, and the interpretation of the verb-action may have been influenced by J. vii. 43 and x. 19 σχισμα . . . εγενετο *missaqiss . . . warþ* (see pp. 229–30).

We will now give a number of passages where the Gothic rendering

seems particularly felicitous, or where a less usual word has been used in order better to interpret the sense of the Greek.

M. v. 24 διαλλαγηθι *gagg faurþis gasibjon broþr þeinamma.*

M. v. 45 ηλιον αυτου ανατελλει *urranneiþ* 'maketh his sun to rise'.

M. viii. 17 νοσους εβαστασεν *sauhtins usbar* (βασταζειν = *bairan*). But cf. the immediately preceding *unmahtins unsaros usnam* (ανελαβεν).

M. viii. 19 and L. ix. 57 οπου εαν απερχη *þiswaduh þadei gaggis* (= *galeiþan* 49/56). See p. 239.

M. viii. 20 and L. ix. 58 *fauhons grobos aigun* (εχουσι) . . . *sunus mans ni habaiþ* (εχει) *þar haubiþ galagjai.* With this fine contrast cf. vg. *habent . . . habet*, R.V. have . . . hath. (See also p. 239.)

M. ix. 38 εκβαλη εργατας *ussandjai waurstwjans*; vg. *eiciat*, latt. *mittat.*

M. xxvii. 64 μηποτε . . . κλεψωσιν αυτον *ibai ufto . . . binimaina ina*; vg. f *furentur*, R.V. steal Him away. (κλεπτειν=*hlifan* 3, *stilan* 2 = 5/6). A literal rendering may have seemed harsh or irreverent; *binimaina* is certainly more delicate.

J. vi. 18 θαλασσα . . . διηγειρετο *marei . . . urraisida was*; vg. f *exsurgebat.*

J. vii. 15 μη μεμαθηκως *unuslaisiþs* (cf. *galaisiþs* L. i. 4).

J. ix. 6 επεχρισεν αυτου τον πηλον επι τους οφθαλμους *gasmaiþ imma ana augona þata fani*, vg. *levit lutum*, R.V. anointed his eyes; also v. 11 *bismaiþ mis augona*, vg. *unxit oculos*, R.V. anointed. The Gothic renderings are perfect, being = Ger. 'er schmierte den Koth . . . er beschmierte mir die Augen': cf. Luther '*schmierte den Koth . . . schmierte meine Augen*'. The Goth, like Luther, has used the *mot juste*. In L. iv. 18 of course εχρισεν με is correctly rendered *gasalboda mik.*

J. x. 35 ου δυναται λυθηναι η γραφη *ni maht ist galairan* (*magan* 77/79).

J. xii. 3 οικια επληρωθη εκ της οσμης *sa gards fulls warþ*, vg. *impleta est.* Elsewhere *usfulljan, usfullnan* 21/23. The expression 'became full' is certainly an improvement on 'was filled' (= *usfullnoda*).

J. xii. 5 και εδοθη πτωχοις *fradailiþ wesi þarbam.* A trifle free perhaps, but more expressive than *giban, atgiban* 102/107. Cf. L. xix. 8 *gadailja unledaim.*

J. xv. 26 εκπορευεται *ahman sunjos izei fram attin urrinniþ.* *Urrinnan* is usually figurative.

J. xvi. 2 λατρειαν προσφερειν τῳ θεῳ *hunsla saljan guda*; vg. *praestare.* Elsewhere = *at)bairan* 6.0.2.3 = 11/12, After *hunsla, saljan* was the *mot juste.*

J. xviii. 10 ειλκυσεν αυτην *uslauk ina*, vg. f *eduxit eum* (scil. *gladium*). So also Mk. xiv. 47 σπασαμενος *uslukands.*

J. xix. 12 αντιλεγει τῳ Καισαρι *andstandiþ kaisara*; vg. latt. *contradicit*

Caesari, R.V. speaketh against. The Gothic *andstandiþ* agrees with the Syr. Pesh. *saqqũbhla* (*h*)*u dqesar* 'is the opponent of Caesar', with Luther's '*der ist wider den Kaiser*', and the R.V.'s grudgingly marginal 'opposeth Caesar', which would seem to be the correct rendering.

In L. ii. 34 εις σημειον αντιλεγομενον, where the R.V. has 'which is spoken against', vg. *cui contradicetur*, the Goth prefers the more vigorous *du taiknai andsakanai*. The Gothic version here again shows fine discrimination of sense, the vg. and R.V. cautious uniformity.

L. i. 4 κατηχηθης *galaisiþs is*. Vg. *eruditus es*. Cf. above, J. vii. 15.

L. i. 7 (cf. i. 18; ii. 36) προβεβηκοτες *framaldra*.

L. i. 34 πως εσται τουτο *haiwa sijai þata*. See above, pp. 64 f.

L. ii. 19 συμβαλλουσα (εν τῃ καρδιᾳ αυτης) *þagkjandei*.

L. iv. 28 επλησθησαν παντες θυμου *fullai waurþun allai modis*: cf. J. xii. 3, above. So also L. v. 26, vi. 11 *fullai waurþun, agisis, unfrodeins*.

L. v. 5 δι' ολης νυκτος κοπιασαντες *alla naht þairharbaidjandans*.

L. vi. 25 πενθησετε και κλαυσετε *gaunon jah gretan duginnid*. This is a periphrastic durative future; see *E. B.* § 301 a.

L. vi. 30 μη απαιτει *af þamma nimandin þein ni lausei*. The rendering is idiomatic: cf. L. iii. 13 πρασσετε *lausjaiþ* (extort).

L. vi. 48–9 προσερρηξεν *bistagq*. Vg. *inlisum est flumen*.

L. vii. 7 ηξιωσα *wairþana rahnida*. (But cf. L. xx. 35 οι δε καταξιωθεντες *þaiei wairþai sind*: see p. 180.)

L. viii. 42 αυτη απεθνησκεν *so swalt* (R.V. *lay a dying*). This is a fine example of the durative;[1] elsewhere *gaswiltan*.

L. ix. 32 διαγρηγορησαντες δε ειδον την δοξαν αυτου *gawaknandans þan gasehun wulþu is*. Elsewhere (δι)εγειρειν = intr. *urreisan* 39/41, trans. *urraisjan* 10/10. Cf. R.V. When they were fully awake.

L. ix. 58 που την κεφαλην κλινῃ *þar haubiþ galagjai*, vg. *reclinet*. Cf. M. viii. 20 *anahnaiwjai*: see p. 158.

L. x. 15 καταβιβασθησῃ *gadrausjaza* 'shalt be hurled down', which is perhaps more forcible than the original. Cf. vg. *demergeris*; *deprimaris* e.

L. x. 30 λῃσταις περιεπεσεν *in waidedjans frarann*; vg. *incidit*.

L. xiv. 12 αντικαλεσωσιν σε *aftra haitaina þuk*. vg. *reinvitent*.

L. xiv. 18 εχω αναγκην *þarf*; vg. *necesse habeo*.

L. xiv. 31 συμβαλειν *stiggan wiþra*; vg. *committere bellum adversus*.

L. xv. 12 το επιβαλλον μερος *sei undrinnai mik dail*.

L. xv. 16 επεθυμει χορτασθηναι *gairnida sad itan*. So L. xvi. 21 *gairnida saþ itan*. In German 'er wollte sich satt essen'. A beautiful

[1] Cf. Moulton, p. 114, 'Only in L. viii. 42, 2 Cor. vi. 9, and Heb. xi. 21 is it (αποθνησκειν) strictly durative.' See also Streitberg, *PBB.* xv. 99 f.

rendering that appeals by its precision no less than by its homely ring. Nothing could be more obviously idiomatic. Cf. J. vi. 12 *sadai waurþun.*

L. xv. 17 περισσευουσιν αρτων *ufarassau haband hlaibe.*

L. xvii. 8 ετοιμασον τι δειπνησω *ƕa du naht matjau.*

L. xvii. 25 δει πολλα παθειν αυτον και αποδοκιμασθηναι *skal manag gaþulan jah uskiusada*: the anacoluthic *uskiusada* is the only way to avoid writing '*uskusans wairþan*' or, as in Mk. viii. 31 '*uskiusan skulds ist*', neither of which renderings would be so good.

L. xviii. 22 ετι εν σοι λειπει *nauh ainis þus wan ist.* Cf. Mk. x. 21.

L. xix. 8 διδωμι τοις πτωχοις *gadailja unledaim.* Elsewhere = *at(giban* 102/107. Similarly in L. xviii. 22 διαδος *gadailei.*

Ibid. αποδιδωμι τετραπλουν *fidurfalþ fragilda.*

L. xix. 44 εδαφιουσιν σε *airþai þuk gaïbnjand*; vg. *ad terram prosternent te, deponent* e, *pavimentabunt* a.

L. xx. 16 μη γενοιτο *nissijai.*

Mk. i. 38 τας εχομενας (κωμοπολεις) *du þaim bisunjane* (*haimom*).

Mk. ii. 1 ηκουσθη *gafrehun.*

Mk. iii. 21 εξεστη *usgaisiþs ist*; vg. *in furorem versus est*, R.V. is beside himself.

Mk. iv. 12 ινα βλεποντες βλεπωσιν και μη ιδωσιν *ei saihvandans saihvaina jah ni gaumjaina*; vg. *videntes videant et non videant*; R.V. that seeing they may see and not perceive. Elsewhere ιδειν = *gasaihvan, saihvan* 122/129.

Mk. iv. 37 επεβαλλεν εις το πλοιον *wegos waltidedun in skip.*

Mk. v. 40 οπου ην το παιδιον ανακειμενον *ligando.* Elsewhere = *anakumbjan*, 6/7.

Mk. viii. 25 ενεβλεψεν τηλαυγως απαντας *gasahv bairhtaba allans.* Elsewhere = *insaihvan du* 'to look at', 1.0.1.3 = 5/6.

Mk. ix. 4 ωφθη αυτοις *ataugiþs warþ*; vg. *apparuit illis.*

Mk. x. 8 εσονται οι δυο εις σαρκα μιαν *sijaina þo twa du leika samin.* Durative future expressing permanence: see p. 65.

Mk. x. 21 εν σοι υστερει *ainis þus wan ist*; cf. above, L. xviii. 22.

Mk. xiv. 8 προελαβεν μυρισαι *faursnau salbon mein leik du usfilha. Sniwan*, &c. = to make haste; *faursniwan*, app. 'to head off or forestall' (by, or as by, hurrying); to 'prevent'.

Mk. xiv. 47 αφειλεν *afsloh imma auso.*

Ibid. σπασαμενος *uslukands*; cf. J. xviii. 10 above.

B. DEVIATIONS FROM THE NORM

V

STYLISTIC VARIATION

Although the translator of the Gothic Gospels proceeded with a great regard for uniformity of rendering, an approximately complete uniformity was, naturally, not to be achieved.

The variations of Gothic equivalents may be, broadly, divided into three types:—

1. Renderings differentiated according to the sense of the original Greek.

2. Variant renderings occasioned by the desire to avoid the repetition of a word in the same context: Stylistic Variation.

3. Variant renderings used alternatively with one another for reasons that are not obvious. How far this duality or plurality of rendering may be referable to the history of the Gothic version will be discussed in a later chapter.

Among the third type of variants we include cases such as πονηρος, represented by two apparently synonymous words: *ubils* 4.1.7.1, and *unsels* 2.1.2.1; πτωχος, translated by *unleþs* 1.2.8.2, and *þarbs* 0.2.0.1, as well as instances like ιερον = *alhs* 0.4.8.6, with an unexplained *gudhus* in J. xviii. 20.[1]

Cases like the last are extremely rare, and isolated renderings are, on examination, usually to be explained.

In J. xii. 3 μυρου *salbonais* we have an instance of stylistic variation, unless we take the view that the contextual *gasalboda fotuns* is responsible; elsewhere = *balsan* 0.3.3.2.

In L. v. 3, Mk. iv. 1, where γη = *staþa* (dat. sing.) in place of *airþa* 11.4.10.13, the former is influenced by the parallel text of M. xiii. 2 or Mk. iv. 1, whilst the latter may either be affected by the parallels or derive from the Old Latin (see pp. 230–1, L. v. 3).

In L. ix. 32 *gawaknandans*, instead of *urraisjan* 1.3.3.3, and *urreisan* 12.3.11.13, that render the trans. and intr. uses of εγειρειν, has been deliberately selected as more appropriate to the sense (p. 67), whilst

[1] But cf. Kauffmann, *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 220, 'Nur aus der vorliebe des liturgikers für die vollform wird man *gudhus* J. xviii. 20 (= *alhs*) . . . abzuleiten vermögen.'

gaumeis in L. vi. 41 for βλεπεις (= *ga*)*saihvan* 34/37 is an assimilation to the immediately following *gaumeis*, making a better rendering than the strictly equivalent *saihvis* (see p. 235).

Thus also κακως εχων appears as *ubil* (Mk. ii. 17 *ubilaba*) *habands* 1.0.0.2; but M. ix. 12 *unhaili habandans*, L. v. 31 *þai unhailans* are assimilations to the preceding *ni þaurbun hailai lekeis*, the passage in M. plainly suggesting an earlier *ubil habandans* (see p. 233). The only other passage, L. vii. 2, reads *siukands*, the reason for which is not clear: see p. 104.

The variants occasioned by difference of sense in the Greek have received exemplifying treatment in the preceding pages; we proceed, therefore, to deal with the second class of variant renderings.

Although there are numerous instances illustrating purely stylistic variations of rendering in proximate context, for which no other cause can be suggested, the extent to which the translators have availed themselves, in the Gothic Gospels, of this form of literary embellishment, has been much exaggerated. More especially has a systematic purposiveness been ascribed to the Goth by writers on this subject, who have raised to the status of a stylistic law or mannerism ('*stilgesetz*, *stileigenheit*') what is, in our opinion, a literary effort, but casual and sporadic in its incidence. Cf. chap. i, § 3, pp. 28 ff.

Thus Stolzenburg writes (*ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 376): 'Neben der alliteration steht noch eine andere stileigenheit der got. übersetzung, die sich ausnimmt, als sei der übersetzer der alliteration aus dem wege gegangen, wo sie in der gr. vorlage gegeben war. Es zeigt sich nämlich die neigung des übersetzers mit dem ausdruck zu wechseln, dadurch dass er entweder verschiedene wörter mit einander wechseln lässt, oder verschiedene wortformen, oder die verschiedenen satzformen.'

The inclusion of the last two kinds of '*wechsel im ausdruck*' indicates the zeal with which every deviation from the most slavish glossing is pressed into service to illustrate a Gothic '*stileigenheit*'; even idiomatic and syntactic necessities are not excluded.

Again, P. Odefey (p. 63) says: 'Das bestreben, bei gleichen gr. formen und wörtern, sei es in ein und demselben verse, sei es in zwei oder mehreren auf einander in nicht allzu grosser entfernung von einander folgenden versen, einen wechsel der entsprechenden gotischen eintreten zu lassen, gehört zu den deutlichsten stilmitteln des got. übersetzers. Dass dabei hier und da eine parallele zu lat. formen und wörtern hergestellt wurde, dürfte nichts weiter als zufall sein. . .'

These words betray the same enthusiasm of judgement and, in addition, the fact that the writer, in common with other recent critics,

will not admit the full extent of the Old Latin influence over, or rather, incursion into the Gothic text in general, just as he has failed to recognize the most important characteristic of Luke, viz. its close connexion with the Codex Palatinus (see chapter xiii).

How great this influence was, and how careful we must be not to minimize the probability of latinizing alteration wherever there is ground for suspicion, will be apparent in the following chapters.

Fr. Kauffmann, the latest writer on the 'Translation-technique of Wulfila', writes in much the same strain (*ZfdPh.* xlviii. 181). He says, 'Das eine, die sprachform der Gotenbibel bestimmende hauptstilgesetz ist von uns als das gesetz der wiederholung aufgestellt worden (see chap. i, § 3). Ihm ist ein zweites stilgesetz koordiniert; der sogenannte "wechsel im ausdruck".'

Here Kauffmann refers to R. Groeper, *Untersuchungen über gotische Synonyma*, pp. 85 ff., who cites as examples of this *stilgesetz* Mk. x. 38–9, where *daupjan*, &c., occurs six times, each time translating Gk. βαπτιζειν κτλ., which is the normal procedure in this version; M. vi. 7 *filuwaurdjaiþ* (βαττολογησητε) . . . *filuwaurdein* (πολυλογια), where it is difficult to see what else the Goth could have written; whilst the repetition of *galaiþ*, &c., in L. viii. 22 perfectly well renders the ενεβη . . . διελθωμεν . . . ανηχθησαν of the original, without necessitating any conscious application of a '*wiederholungsgesetz*'. Kauffmann himself deals with this, so far as it affects the Gospels, in pp. 35–42, loc. cit. In the examples he gives the '*wiederholung*' is imposed by the Greek text. See also chap. i, § 3, *passim*.

Before proceeding to give examples of renderings that are varied for purely stylistic effect, we will comment on a few of the examples of '*wechsel im ausdruck*' cited as such by Stolzenburg (some of which are repeated by Odefey and Kauffmann), which, in reality, are due to other causes. The first group of instances here given is dealt with by Stolzenburg under the heading: 1. Wechsel zwischen verschiedenen Wörtern (*ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 376–9).

L. ii. 21 εκληθη . . . το κληθεν *haitan was . . . þata qiþano*. Cf., however, Sin* το λεχθεν, *quod dictum erat* (*est*) e f. The Greek καλειν (to name) = *haitan* 4.0.20.1, *namnjan* twice in Luke, *qiþan* only in this passage, after the Latin of e: see p. 186. The Gothic *haitan* and *qiþan* are emphatically not synonyms, and the substitution of *qiþano* for *haitano*, *styli causa*, is utterly contrary to the translation-technique exemplified in every line of the Gothic version. Kauffmann (p. 182) and Odefey (p. 65) agree with Stolzenburg.

J. xvi. 27–8 παρα θεου εξηλθον. εξηλθον παρα του πατρος και εληλυθα εις τον κοσμον *fram guda urrann. uzuhiddja fram attin jah atiddja in þana*

fairhu. *Usrinnan* is used especially for the figurative and transferred senses of εξελθειν, and is the *mot juste* in v. 27, whilst in v. 28 *uzuhiddja* and *atiddja* stand in well-balanced antithesis (but see p. 52). It is at least not certain that *urrann* is used merely to vary with *uzuhiddja*, as also Kauffmann will have (l. c., p. 182).

L. xix. 31, 34 ο κυριος αυτου χρειαν εχει *frauja þis gairneiþ . . . fraujin þaurfts þis ist*; vg. *operam eius desiderat*; *necessarius est* f, *desiderat illum* e. χρειαν εχειν = *þaurban*, &c. 4.2.4.3, *gairnjan* only here and in the parallel Mk. xi. 3. The Lucan *gairnjan* is a survival from the Palatinian: see p. 180. Kauffmann (p. 182, note 2) and Odefey (p. 65) quote this as an example of stylistic variation.

J. ix. 29 οιδαμεν . . . οιδαμεν *witum þatei þu Mose rodida Guþ, iþ þana ni kunnum, hwaþro ist*. Also

J. vii. 28 καμε οιδατε και οιδατε ποθεν ειμι *mik kunnuþ jah wituþ hwaþro im*. Here Stolzenburg has overlooked the difference in meaning between *witan* and *kunnan* (pp. 58 ff.), and Kauffmann falls into the same error when he cites the renderings *witan* and *kunnan* in J. vii. 28, ix. 29 (l. c., p. 182), J. xiv. 5 (ibid., p. 182, note 1), J. xvi. 30 (ibid., p. 182, note 2), as instances of stylistic variation.

J. ix. 31 ακουει . . . ακουει *andhauseiþ . . . hauseiþ*. *Hausjan* and *andhausjan* are not synonymous, and this is not a case of '*wechsel im ausdruck*' (cf. L. xvii. 6, p. 186).

M. v. 46–7 τελωναι . . . τελωναι *þiudo . . . motarjos*. This is nothing more than a scribal blunder; cf. Streitberg, ad loc. The whole passage is badly copied: cf. v. 44.

M. vii. 24, 26 ανηρ *wair . . . manna*: see p. 29.

J. xv. 19 *manaseþs . . . fairhus*. These words are not synonyms, and therefore not stylistic variants. See above, pp. 41–2.

L. xvi. 10, 11 αδικος . . . αδικῳ *untriggws . . . inwindamma*. The second word is a correct rendering (thus also M. v. 45, L. xviii. 11); *untriggws* is corrupt, being assimilated to the preceding πιστος *triggws*: see p. 236, chapter xvii. Odefey (p. 66) also cites this as a case of variation, as well as L. xx. 21 λεγοντες . . . λεγεις *qiþandans . . . rodeis*, for which see p. 125.

Stolzenburg's second division, '*Wechsel zwischen verschiedenen wortformen* (pp. 379–81), exemplifies chiefly differences of tense, mood, number, and case, which cannot be reckoned as instances of stylistic variation.[1] We note, in especial,

J. xv. 6 συναγουσιν . . . βαλλουσιν *galisada . . . galagjand*. *Galisada* is

[1] See Stolzenburg, loc. cit., p. 376. Cf. also Odefey, pp. 67–73 (§§ 24–6).

explained by the other passives in the same context; see chapter xvii. p. 234.

L. ii. 12, 16 κειμενον *galagid . . . ligando* (Odefey, p. 64). Cf. vg. latt. *positum . . . positum*, whence the reading of v. 12 in C. A.; the original rendering survives in v. 16. See p. 175.

With '3. *Wechsel in der satzfügung*' (*ZfdPh.* xxxvii. p. 381, cf. Odefey, p. 72) we are not directly concerned.

Stolzenburg's treatment of his sections 2 and 3 likewise betrays a complete misunderstanding of the principle underlying the Gothic technique, which reveals itself also in the following: (p. 382) 'Dieser reichhaltigkeit des wechsels in der got. übersetzung stehen andere, wenn auch weit weniger fälle gegenüber, in denen ein wechsel des ausdrucks, der sich im gr. findet, nicht wiedergegeben ist.'

The examples cited under (a) 'dadurch dass der Gote dasselbe wort wiederholt hat' are merely exemplifications of the Goth's normal translation-habit; it just happens that the Greek words have, as their normal representative, one and the same word in Gothic. E. g.:

L. xx. 2 και ειπον προς αυτον λεγοντες *jah qeþun du imma qiþandans*. Here the Goth had no alternative, since ειπειν, λεγειν are uniformly rendered by *qiþan*; the few exceptions, whatever their cause, are not, either, due to considerations of style.

So with M. xi. 7–8 θεασασθαι, ιδειν = *saihvan*; Mk. viii. 24 οραν, βλεπειν = *gasaihvan*; L. x. 24 ιδειν, βλεπειν = *saihvan*. The Greek distinguished between βλεπειν 'the act of seeing', οραν, which 'is referred to the thing seen, whether in itself (objectively) or in regard to its impression on the mind (subjectively)', and θεασθαι (θεωρειν) 'to look at purposely'.[1] The Goth did not, but had only *saihvan* and *gasaihvan* for the durative and perfective aspects, respectively, of the general sense 'to see, *videre*', and *gaumjan* 'to notice or observe, to perceive as the result of seeing', to render κατανοειν, βλεπειν, διαβλεπειν, θεωρειν, ιδειν, θεασθαι where those verbs meant 'to perceive'; otherwise these verbs are uniformly rendered by *ga)saihvan*.

Conversely, where the Greek γιγνωσκειν includes, ambiguously, the senses of Fr. *savoir* and *connaître*, for which the Goth has distinct words in *witan* and *kunnan*, he naturally distinguishes between these senses and, as we have shown, with great accuracy.[2]

To say, then, that in the first instance he 'does not reproduce the Greek variety of expression'—he cannot—or that he shows, in the second instance, 'eine stileigenheit die sich ausnimmt, als sei der übersetzer der alliteration aus dem wege gegangen' (Stolz., p. 376, op.

[1] Green, *Gram. Gk. Test.*, p. 374.

[2] Above, p. 58, chap. iv.

cit.), is to interpret as discretionary that which is a matter of necessity. The Goth does not, in these cases, vary his renderings, or avoid variety, for reasons of style.

It can happen, however, as it would in any other language, that the Gothic possesses synonymous alternatives for ideas that are represented by one word in the Greek text, as, e. g., when ακολουθειν occurs as

1. *laistjan afar* + dat.	7.0.4.8 = 19
2. *laistjan* + dir. obj. (acc.)	1.10.8.6 = 25
3. *gaggan afar* + dat.	3.1.1.6 = 11

In such cases the Goth has certainly availed himself of the variants at his disposal to avoid monotony of diction, as in L. v. 27–8 (Stolz., p. 376, Odefey, p. 64), M. viii. 22–3; cf. M. viii. 19 *laistja þuk*, v. 22 *laistei afar mis*, v. 23 *afariddjedun imma*. Cf. also L. v. 15, p. 103.

Such artistic variation is, however, neither so systematic nor so frequent as some writers insist; the Goth was mainly concerned with the precision of his rendering, and, although he sometimes availed himself of stylistic artifice when the opportunity presented itself, we have nowhere noticed any heroic efforts to obtain purely literary effects by this means. It will be seen, moreover, that synonymous renderings are not always common to the four Gospels (chap. vi). In this case, e. g., the Gospel of St. John prefers the second rendering ten times out of eleven.

The following passage, cited by Kauffmann as an instance of '*Wechsel im ausdruck*', may be profitably discussed.

J. xviii. 30, 35, 36 '*sehr schön und wirkungsvoll*'[1] ουκ αν σοι παρεδωκαμεν αυτον . . . οι αρχιερεις παρεδωκαν σε εμοι . . . οι υπηρεται αν οι εμοι ηγωνιζοντο ινα μη παραδοθω τοις Ιουδαιοις *algebeima þus ina . . . anafulhun þuk mis . . . ei ni galewiþs wesjau*. The following points are to be noted:

(a) *atgiban* regularly represents παραδιδοναι in the sense 'to deliver into the hands of (power)' 3.1.5.6 times.[2] Always used when Christ speaks of Himself, or when his judicial tradition (not betrayal) is spoken of, with the solitary exception of J. xviii. 36.

(*b*) *anafilhan* translates παραδιδοναι only four times, viz. M. xxvii. 2, J. xviii. 35, where Jesus is 'delivered' to Pontius Pilate, and twice, L. i. 2 and Mk. vii. 13, where it means 'to hand down (as by tradition)'. In the first two passages *anafilhan* is perhaps used as a variant of *atgiban*, possibly lending a touch of dignity to the phrase.

(c) *galewiþs* in J. xviii. 36 is the only instance where Christ is made to speak of His 'tradition' by any other word than *atgiban*,[3] except where

[1] *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 182, note 1.

[2] E. g. M. v. 25; xxvi. 2; L. iv. 6; ix. 44; x. 22; xx. 20; Mk. ix. 31. For Mk. iv. 29 (παραδῳ ο καρπος) see p. 146.

[3] M. xxvi. 2; L. ix. 44; xviii. 32; Mk. ix. 31; x. 33.

He directly refers to Judas, viz. J. vi.64; xiii. 21; xix. 11; and Mk. xiv. 42 *sa lewjands mik atnehvida*.[1] The traitor is always referred to as '*sa galewjands ina*', or '*saei galewida ina*', and one cannot help feeling the thrill of indignation and contempt that the Gothic word conveyed, and noting the purposeful way in which it was applied.[2]

It may be doubted whether *galewiþs wesjau* (J. xviii. 36) represents the original reading; the analogy of the other passages would lead us to expect *atgibans*.

The following is a fairly complete list of variant renderings in proximate contexts that seem to have been chosen for reasons of style, without any difference in meaning discernible to us. The reader will remember that we confine ourselves to renderings of Greek nouns, verbs, adjectives, and a few adverbs. In rendering other parts of speech, in matters of accidence and construction, the Goth was obliged to act with much greater freedom, and Stolzenburg's '*Wechsel zwischen verschiedenen wortformen*' and '*Wechsel in der satzfügung*'[3] illustrate idiomatic and syntactic necessity rather than variation of style. Passages that have been mentioned in this connexion by Stolzenburg, Kauffmann, or Odefey (Luke only) are distinguished by the initials of those writers.[4]

M. v. 31, 32 (K.) απολυση . . . απολυση . . . απολελυμενην: *afletai* . . . *afletiþ* . . . *afsatida*. In this sense απολυειν = *afletan* 6/8. Cf. Mk. x. 2 *qen afsatjan*.

M. v. 37, 39 (S.K.) πονηρος: *ubils* . . . *unsels*. Cf. vi. 13, 23.

M. v. 44 τους εχθρους . . . τοις μισουσιν: *friþoþ fijands* . . . *waila taujaiþ þaim hatjandam*. Here *hatjan* avoids the repetition of *fijan*, which regularly stands for μισειν 15/17 times, whilst for εχθρος we find *fijands* 9/10 times. Cf. L. vi. 27 below, and p. 219.

M. vi. 1, 2 (S.K.) μισθον: *laun* . . . *mizdon*.

M. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4 (K.) ελεημοσυνη: *armaion* . . . *taujan*, *taujais armaion*, *taujandan armaion*, but *sijai so armahairtiþa þeina in fulhsnja*. This is perhaps a variant not of style but of interpretation, *armahairtiþa* having here the meaning of ελεος, *misericordia*, as elsewhere in M. ix. 13, L. i. 72, and as *armahairtei* wherever it occurs in the Gospels and Epistles. On the other hand, *armaio* renders ελεος 6 times in the Epistles, but ελεημοσυνη only in this passage. Cf., however, R. Groeper,

[1] Mk. xiv. 41 *galewjada* has been contextually influenced by v. 42 (*sa lewjands*): see pp. 237–8, chap. xvii.

[2] Contra Kauffmann (xlviii. 233, note 2), '*galewjan* bedeutet nicht "*verraten*" sondern "*ausliefern*".'

[3] *ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 379 and 381; cf. also Odefey, pp. 71–3.

[4] Stolzenburg, *ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 376 ff.; Odefey, pp. 63–73; Kauffmann, *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 181–3, and p. 78, note 2 ('*dreiklang*').

pp. 87 ff., cited by Kauffmann, xlviii. 78, note 2 (quoted below, p. 81), who quotes M. vi. 2–4 as a case illustrating '*dreiklang*'.

M. vi. 2, 5 (S.K.) απεχουσι: *andnemun . . . haband.*

M. vi. 13, 23 πονηρου . . . πονηρος: *ubilin . . . unsel.* Cf. M. v. 37, 39.

M. vi. 16, 17 (S.K.) προσωπα . . . προσωπον: *andwairþja . . . ludja.*

M. vi. 19, 20 (S.K.) κλεπτουσιν: *hlifand . . . stiland.* Cf. J. x. 1, 8.

M. vi. 27, 28 (S.K.) μεριμνων . . . μεριμνατε: *maurnands . . . saurgaiþ.*

M. vii. 13 (S.) εισελθετε . . . εισερχομενοι: *inngaggaiþ . . . inngaleiþandans.*

M. vii. 17, 18 (S.) αγαθον: *godaize . . . þiuþeigs.*

M. ix. 17 (S.) νεον: *niujata . . . juggata.*

M. ix. 32, 33 (S.K.) κωφον . . . κωφος: *baudana . . . dumba.*

M. xi. 13 προφηται . . . προεφητευσαν: *allai auk praufeteis . . . fauraqeþun*: see p. 95 ad. loc.

M. xxvii. 3, 5, 6, 9 τα αργυρια: *silubreinaize*, &c. (3.5.9), but *skattans* in ver. 6.

J. vi. 12, 13 κλασματα . . . κλασματων: *drauhsnos . . . gabruko* (κλασμα = *gabruks* 5/6).

J. vi. 51 καταβας: *ik im hlaifs sa libanda, sa us himina qumana. Qiman* = καταβαινειν only here, instead of *atsteigan*, which occurs 6 times in the immediate context, viz. vv. 33, 38, 41, 42, 50, 58. The previous verse reads *saei us himina aistaig*; *qumana* in v. 51 is an effective variation at the sacrifice of strict literalism.

J. vii. 1 περιεπατει . . . περιπατειν: *þarboda . . . gaggan.* Elsewhere = *gaggan* 16/19.

J. vii. 4, 10 (S.) εν κρυπτῳ: *in analaugnein . . . analaugniba.*

J. vii. 19, 22 δεδωκεν: *Moses gaf izwis witoþ . . . Moses atgaf izwis þimait.*

J. viii. 13, 14, 16, 17 αληθης: *nist sunjeina . . . sunja ist . . . sunjeina ist . . . sunja ist.* Streitberg, *W. B.*, cites the words in vv. 14, 17 as *sunjis*,* adj., adding '*oder ist sunja subst.?*' In either case this is a good specimen of purposed variation of rendering.

J. ix. 8 (K.) προσαιτης . . . προσαιτων: *þidagswa . . . aihtronds.* (Προσαιτειν = *aihtron* 3/3.) Since προσαιτης is unique, we cannot say that *þidagswa* is a stylistic variant; but it is clear that if the noun corresponding to προσαιτης was **aihtronds* (cf. *frijonds*, &c.) its use would be contra-indicated by the following pres. part.

J. ix. 18, 20, 22, 23 (S.) γονεις: *fadrein* (3 times) . . . *berusjos* (ver. 23).

J. x. 1, 8 κλεπτης εστιν και λῃστης: *hliftus ist jah waidedja*: ver. 8 *þiubos sind jah waidedjans* (κλεπτης = *þiufs* 2.3.0.0 = 5/6). Cf. M. vi. 19, 20.

J. x. 31, 32, 33 λιθασωσιν . . . λιθαζετε . . . λιθαζομεν: *ei waurpeina ana ina . . . staineiþ . . . stainjam.* See p. 149.

. xi. 14, 16, 21 (K.) απεθανεν . . . αποθανωμεν . . . απεθανεν : *gaswalt* . . . *gaswiltaima* . . . *gadauþnodedi*. Cf. L. xx. 28–32, and see pp. 81 and 87 note 4.

J. xii. 3 μυρου : *balsanis* . . . *salbonais*. But this is just as likely to be a case of contextual attraction : see p. 69. Kauffmann, however, says (p. 185) '*Stilgerecht sind also die doubletten* . . . *pund balsanis* . . . *salbonais*' ; this with reference to p. 183 '*Er liess heimische wörter mit fremdwörtern oder lehnwörtern wechseln.*'

J. xii. 5, 6, 8 πτωχοις . . . πτωχων . . . πτωχους : *þarbam* . . . *þarbane* . . . *unledans*.

J. xii. 24 ο κοκκος του σιτου : *kaurno haiteis*. Κοκκος is appropriately rendered by *kaurno*. Σιτος is elsewhere represented by *kaurn* 0.0.2.1, for which *haiteis* (απαξ) is here substituted to avoid the collocation *kaurno kaurnis*.

J. xiii. 31 (S.K.) εδοξασθη : *gasweraids warþ* . . . *hauhiþs ist*. Cf. xii. 16, 23 *gasweraiþs was* . . . *sweraidau* (= ινα δοξασθη).

J. xv. 6, 7 (S.) μεινη . . . μεινητε : *wisiþ* . . . *sijuþ*.

J. xvi. 6, 20, 21, 22 λυπη : *gauriþa* (v. 6) . . . *saurga* (vv. 20–2).

J. xviii. 19, 22, 24, 26 (K.) αρχιερευς κτλ. : *sa auhumista gudja* . . . *þamma reikistin gudjin* . . . *þamma maistin gudjin* . . . *þis maistins gudjins*. See chapter xiii, § 1.

J. xix. 2, 5 (S.) στεφανον : *wiþja* . . . *waiþ*. The parallel Mk. xv. 17 reads *wiþja* ; *waiþs* only here, and 4 times in the Epistles.

J. xix. 6 (S.K.) σταυρωσον . . . σταυρωσατε : *ushramei* . . . *hramjiþ*. See, however, below, p. 82.

L. i. 5, 8 (S.O.) εφημεριας : *afar* . . . *kunjis*. The former word is, however, probably a blunder ; see pp. 128–9.

L. i. 17 ετοιμασαι κυριῳ λαον κατεσκευασμενον : *manwjan fraujin managein gafahrida* (απαξ). Κατασκευαζειν otherwise = *gamanwjan* 3/3. Here the attributive use of the Greek word may have imposed the unique *gafahrida* ; cf. L. vi. 40 where *gamanwids* (= κατηρτισμενος) is replaced by the marginal *ustauhans* ; so vg. *parare* . . . *perfectam* ; Luther *zuzurichten* . . . *ein bereitet Volk*.

L. i. 41, 44 (K.) κοιλιᾳ : *qiþau* . . . *wambai*.

L. i. 71 σωτηριαν εξ εχθρων ημων και εκ χειρος παντων των μισουντων ημας *nasein us fijandam unsaraim jah us handau allaize þize hatandane unsis*. The rendering *hatandane* shows stylistic dissimilation from the preceding *fijandam*. Elsewhere μισειν = *fijan* 15/17 times. Cf. M. v. 44 and L. vi. 27.

L. i. 72 ελεος *armahairtiþa* . . . ; *armahairtei* in vv. 50, 54, 58, 78. Cf. M. vi. 1–4, above.

L. ii. 1, 3, 5 (S.O.) απογραφεσθαι (bis) . . . απογραψασθαι : *gameljan . . . ei meldidai weseina . . . anameljan.*

L. iii. 21, see vii. 29.

L. iv. 15, 16 συναγωγαις . . . συναγωγην : *gaqumþim . . . swnagogein.*

L. iv. 35 (K.O.) εξελθε . . . εξηλθεν : *usgagg . . . urrann.* Cf. J. xvi. 27–28 (p. 71).

L. v. 3, 4 (O.) επαναγαγειν . . . επαναγαγε : *aftiuhan . . . brigg.*

L. v. 4, 5 χαλασατε . . . χαλασωμεν : *athahid . . . wairpam* : see p. 150.

L. v. 27, 28 (S.O.) ακολουθει μοι . . . ηκολουθησεν : *laistei afar mis . . . iddja afar imma.* See p. 74.

L. v. 37, 38 (K.O.) νεον . . . νεος . . . νεον : *wein niujata . . . niujo wein . . . wein juggata.*

L. vi. 27 τους εχθρους . . . τοις μισουσιν : *þans hatandans . . . þaim fijandam.* Streitberg's note ad loc. is wrong, since μισειν = *fijan* (not *hatan*) 15/17 times. See M. v. 44. The present passage is the only one where εχθρος is translated by *hat(j)an*, elsewhere always *fijands* 3.0.5.1 = 9/10. The marginal gloss *hatjandam* is discussed on p. 219.

L. vi. 36 (S.) οικτιρμονες . . . οικτιρμων : *bleiþjandans . . . bleiþs ist.*

L. vi. 38 (S.O.) μετρον . . . μετρῳ : *mitads . . . mitadjon.* See p. 104.

L. vi. 48, 49 (K.) ποταμος : *aha . . . flodus.*

L. vii. 29, 30 βαπτισθεντες . . . μη βαπτισθεντες : *ufdaupidai . . . ni daupidai.* (Perhaps the negative is responsible for the durative simplex?). Cf. L. iii. 21 *warþ þan, biþe daupida* (εν τῳ βαπτισθηναι) *alla managein, jah at Iesu ufdaupidamma* (βαπτισθεντος). Cf. Streitberg in *PBB.* xv. 165.

L. vii. 36, 37 (K.) οικιαν . . . οικιᾳ : *in gard . . . in razna.* But see p. 86, note 7.

L. vii. 47 (S.O.) αφεωνται . . . αφιεται : *afletanda . . . fraletada.* αφιεναι 'to forgive' = *afletan* 7.0.6.8, *fraletan* 0.0.3.0 = 3/24. Semantically, however, there seems nothing against the use of *fraletan.* See p. 106.

L. viii. 32, 33 (K.) αγελη : *hairda . . . wriþus* (απαξ). See pp. 106, 120.

L. viii. 42, 43 ετων δωδεκα : *wintriwe twalibe . . . jera twalif.*

L. ix. 14, 15 (K.) κατακλινατε . . . και εποιησαν ουτως . . . ανεκλιναν : *gawaurkeiþ im anakumbjan . . . jah gatawidedun swa . . . gatawidedun anakumbjan allans.* Cf. Kauffmann, xlviii. 78, note 2 (*dreiklang*), and see below (J. vi. 10), p. 96.

L. ix. 60 (S.O.) νεκρους : *let þans daubans usfilhan seinans nawins.* These words are probably not synonymous, and therefore not stylistic variants; see pp. 108, 9.

L. xiv. 18, 19 (K.) ηγορασα : *bauhta . . . usbauhta.* Cf., however, p. 82, and see Kauffmann, xlviii. 228.

L. xiv. 18, 19, 20 πρωτος . . . ετερος . . . ετερος: *sa frumista . . . anþar . . . sums.* There is nothing against the repetition of *anþar*, which stands for οι λοιποι regularly, and renders ετερος 9/10 times. In the enumeration *frumista, anþara,* however, the latter contextually takes on the definite meaning 'second', which goes against its repetition here.

L. xiv. 29, 30 αρξωνται . . . ηρξατο: *duginnaina . . . dustodida.* Cf., however, p. 110.

L. xv. 6, 9 συγκαλει . . . συγκαλειται: *galaþoþ . . . gahaitiþ.* Συγκαλειν = *gahaitan* 0.0.2.1, *galaþon* only here.

L. xv. 12, 13 (S.O.) ουσιας . . . ουσιαν: *aiginis . . . swes.*

L. xv. 13, 14, 15 χωραν . . . χωραν . . . χωρας: *land . . . gawi . . . gaujis.*

L. xv. 18, 21 ημαρτον: *frawaurhta mis . . . frawaurhta.* Cf. M. xxvii. 4 *frawaurhta mis galewjands bloþ swikn.* Elsewhere simply *frawaurkjan* 0.2.2.0.

L. xv. 23, 24, 29, 32 (S.O.) ευφρανεσθαι κτλ.: *wisam waila . . . wisan . . . biwesjau . . . waila wisan.* See pp. 110 ff.

L. xvi. 6, 7 (O.) γραψον: (*gasitands sprauto*) *gamelei . . .* (*nim þus bokos jah*) *melei.* Kauffmann (xlviii. 229) thinks that the simple *melei* is intended to balance *nim*, just as *gamelei* goes with *gasitands*; nevertheless *melei*, in my opinion, is more likely to be a scribal error.

L. xix. 13–25 (S.O.) μνα: *daila* (3 times), *skatts* (6 times).

L. xx. 10, 11 δειραντες: *usbliggwandans ina . . . bliggwandans* (p. 82).

L. xx. 14, 15 αποκτεινωμεν . . . απεκτειναν: *afslaham . . . usqemun*; cf. Mk. xii. 5, 7, and see below, p. 115.

L. xx. 28, 29, 31, 32 (S.O.K.) αποθανειν κτλ.: *gadauþnai . . . gadauþnai . . . gadauþnoda . . . gaswalt . . . gaswultun . . . gadauþnoda*; cf. J. xi. 14, 16, 21.

Mk. ii. 6, 8 (S.K.) διαλογιζομενοι . . . -ονται . . . -εσθε: *þagkjandans sis . . . mitodedun sis . . . mitoþ.*

Mk. ii. 22 (K.) νεον . . . νεος . . . νεον: *wein juggata . . . wein þata niujo . . . wein juggata.* Cf. M. ix. 17, L. v. 37, 38.

Mk. ii. 23, 24, 27, 28 (S.) σαββατον κτλ.: *sabbato daga . . . sabbatim . . . sabbato . . . sabbato dagis . . . þamma sabbato.*

Mk. iii. 28, 29 βλασφημιαι . . . βλασφημησωσιν . . . βλασφημησῃ: *naiteinos . . . wajamerjand . . . wajamereiþ.* Βλασφημια = *wajamereins* 1.1.0.2, *naiteins* 0.0.1.2. The use of *naiteins* in this passage may be dialectal, not stylistic: see pp. 89, 91, 161. With *naiteins* cf. *ganaitidana* (ητιμωμενον) which occurs once in Mk. xii. 4. *Wajamereins* would seem to be the earlier, counterfeiting gloss, taking -φημη = *-mereins.*

Mk. vi. 1, 4 πατριδα . . . πατριδι: *in landa . . . in gabaurþai.*

Mk. vii. 3, 5, 8, 9: see p. 154.

Mk. viii. 13 εμβας παλιν εις πλοιον απηλθεν εις το περαν: *galeiþands aftra in skip uslaiþ hindar marcin*, avoiding the repetition *galeiþands . . . galaiþ* (απελθειν = *galeiþan* 49/56: cf. next).

Mk. viii. 17 ουπω νοειτε ουδε συνιετε (οτι πεπωρωμενην κτλ.) *ni nauh fraþjiþ nih wituþ* (*unte daubata habaiþ hairto izwar . . .*). Elsewhere συνιεναι is represented by *fraþjan* 6/7. Possibly the reading was disturbed by the corrupt *unte* (quasi = οτι ἦ. ετι): p. 237.

Mk. ix. 31 αποκτενουσιν αυτον, και αποκτανθεις . . . αναστησεται: *usqimand imma, jah usqistiþs . . . usstandiþ*. The Greek verb is translated by *usqiman* 22 out of 27 times, and by *usqistjan* (properly = απολεσαι: see J. vi. 27, p. 124) 3 times, the other two instances being L. vi. 9 and Mk. iii. 4, for which see p. 115 (L. xx. 14).

Mk. ix. 44, 46, 48 (K.) οπου ο σκωληξ αυτων ου τελευτα: *gaswiltiþ . . . gaswiltiþ . . . gadauþniþ*. Cf. p. 89, note 4, and see p. 81.

Mk. x. 2, 4 απολυσαι: *afsatjan . . .* (*þokos afsateinais meljan jah*) *afletan*. Απολυσαι in this sense = *afletan* 6/8. Cf. M. v. 32, where the p.pple. *afsatiþa* is perhaps semantically more suitable than **afletana*.

Mk. x. 32, 33 αναβαινοιτες εις Ιεροσολυμα . . . αναβαινομεν εις Ιεροσ: *gaggandans . . . usgaggam*. See below, p. 82.

Mk. xi. 24 οσα αν προσευχομενοι αιτεισθε: *þishvah þei bidjandans sokeiþ* (*orantes petitis* vg., *petieritis* f). It is not certain whether *sokeiþ* stands to avoid *bidjandans bidjaiþ*, or whether it is an inaccuracy of rendering through the Old Latin: cf. L. i. 63 *sokjands spilda* pp. 174–5).

Mk. xii. 3, 8 λαβοντες αυτον: *nimandans ina usbluggwun . . . undgreipandans ina usqemun*.

Mk. xii. 5, 7 απεκτειναν . . . αποκτεννοντες . . . αποκτεινωμεν: *afslohun . . . usqimandans . . . usqimam*. The Greek verb appears as *usqiman* 22 times, *afslahan* 2, (cf. L. xx. 14 *afslaham ina*), *usqistjan* 3: cf. above, Mk. ix. 31.

Mk. xii. 10, 26 ανεγνωτε: *ussuggwuþ . . . gakunnaideduþ*.

Mk. xii. 20, 21, 22 (S. K.) αποθνησκων . . . απεθανεν . . . απεθανεν: *gaswiltands . . . gadauþnoda . . . gaswalt*.

Mk. xiv. 69, 70 (S.) τοις παρεστηκοσιν . . . οι παρεστωτες: *þaim faurastandandam . . . þai atstandandans*: See below (L. xix. 24) p. 114.

Mk. xiv. 68, 70, 72 (K.) ηρνησατο . . . ηρνειτο . . . απαρνηση με: *afaiaik . . . laugnida . . . inwidis*. See p. 238.

Mk. xiv. 68, 72 (K.) εφωνησεν . . . φωνησαι: *wopida . . . wopida . . . hrukjai*.

Mk. xvi. 4 αναβλεψασαι θεωρουσιν *insaihvandeins gaumidedun*, to avoid *insaihvandeins gasehvun*. Elsewhere θεωρειν appears as *ga*)*saihvan* 24/25. It will be noticed that not only are the passages which have been cited

as examples of stylistic variation few in number, but that, in spite of the writer's careful scrutiny, those which have not previously been discussed in this connexion number little more than one third of the total. Here and there, no doubt, an attempt has been made, by the substitution of a synonym for one of two or more recurring words, to relieve the monotony that complete uniformity of diction would entail; but far oftener the renderings are uniform, as a glance at any chapter of John will reveal, especially chapters vi–x.

Stolzenburg sums up the results of his chapter on '*Wechsel im ausdruck*' in these words (*ZfdPh.* xxxvii. 384):

'Beurteilen wir die übersetzungstechnik im ganzen, so sei zunächst darauf hingewiesen, wie vereinzelt, wie gering an zahl und wie wenig bedeutend die abweichungen des got. vom gr. text alle zusammengenommen sind, hält man dagegen die ganze masse der fälle, in denen der got. und gr. text sich von wort zu wort decken. Wie weit diese wortwörtliche übereinstimmung geht, die von allen bearbeitern zugegeben wird und von der jede seite der übersetzung deutlichstes zeugnis ablegt, dafür einige beispiele.'

Before dismissing this subject, mention must be made of two allied '*stilmittel*' dealt with by Kauffmann. On p. 78, note 2, he says:—'Auf einen interessanten spezialfall liturgischen dreiklangs hat neuerdings R. Groeper, *Untersuchungen über got. synonyma* (diss. Berlin 1915) s. 87 f. die aufmerksamkeit gelenkt: "liest man längere partien der gotenbibel . . . durch, so ergiebt sich, dass dem dreimal beibehaltenen gr. wort . . . im got. zwei gleiche und ein davon abweichendes entsprechen"'.

The examples cited by Kauffmann,[1] of which M. vi. 2–4 *armaio . . . armaio . . . armahairtiþa*; L. i. 41–4 *qiþus . . . qiþus . . . wamba*; L. xx. 30–32 *gaswalt . . . gaswultun . . . gadauþnoda*; L. i. 9–11 *saljan . . . þwmiama . . . þwmiama* are specimens, are neither numerous nor convincing; they show however, that Groeper, in citing J. vii. 27–8 *kunnum waþro ist . . . wait waþro ist . . . kunnuþ jah wituþ waþro im* (see above, p. 72), takes no account of the difference between *kunnan* and *witan*.

Similarly, in the reference to J. viii. 40, 45, 46 λελαληκα . . . λεγω . . . λεγω *sunja rodida . . . sunja rodida . . . sunja qiþa*, we note that the Goth should have written *rodida . . . qiþa . . . qiþa*, and that the first *qiþa* (v. 45) was altered to *rodida* under the influence of the preceding verse, where *rodeiþ* occurs twice, correctly translating λαλειν; cf. however *loquor* d e (λαλω D); *locutus sum* f is after the Gothic; see pp. 125 ff. (234).

The second stylistic artifice, to which reference has been made on p. 27,

[1] I have been unable to see Groeper's dissertation.

note, is dealt with by Kauffmann (p. 221 ff., l. c.; see especially pp. 227–9, and notes).

'Bei der wiederholung erfolgt ihre verstärkung durch komposition: *horinos . . . gahorinoda* M. v. 27–8; *wilwan . . . diswilwai* Mk. iii. 27; *bairais . . . atgaggands atbair* M. v. 23–4; . . . Dieser drang, das volumen der wörter in der dimension der breite zu strecken, setzt sich bei dem gebrauch mehrfacher zusammensetzungen fort, zu denen der gr. bibeltext keine unmittelbare veranlassung gegeben zu haben scheint . . . eine besondere bewandtnis hat es aber mit den *us-* und *ga-* kompositis . . .'

He continues (p. 223) 'Ich halte dafür, dass die verba von den entsprechenden nominalen zusammensetzungen nicht getrennt, und dass ein formenpaar wie . . *usbliggwandans*: *bliggwandans* L. xx. 10, 11 . . . zunächst nicht anders beurteilt werden dürfe als die variante *runa*: *garuni* M. xxvii. 1 oder *juk(a) auhsne* L. xiv. 19: *gajuk hraiwadubono* ii. 24, wobei die sinnesverschiedenheit hinter der formalen verschiedenheit verschwindet und vermutlich der rhythmus das einemal für die kurz-, das anderemal für die vollform den ausschlag gab.'

There are certainly a number of cases like *ushramei . . . hramjiþ*, *bauhta . . . usbauhta*, *usbliggwandans . . . bliggwandans*, *ufdaupidai . . . daupidai* which, unless we accept Kauffmann's view, are difficult to explain.

VI

DUAL RENDERINGS

Having dealt with renderings that vary, in proximate contexts, for reasons of style, we come to speak of dual renderings which are, so far as we can tell, synonymous. Some of these pairs of renderings would seem to be true alternatives, either being used indifferently as chance or discretion directs; it seems probable, however, that in other cases the dialect of the translator, revisor, or scribe may have played a part (p. 242). There seems no reason, *a priori*, why one and the same Greek word should not, at the discretion of the translator, be rendered now by one, now by another of a pair of synonyms, and this, no doubt, is what has not infrequently occurred. There were reasons, however, suggesting a closer scrutiny of all cases where there was an apparently synonymous duality of rendering, in order to ascertain whether or not the variation was merely fortuitous as a whole. In the first instance, there was the very high degree of uniformity of rendering, which made one look with suspicion on any renderings that departed from it, since these so often, on examination, had proved to be other than casual. Then, again, a preliminary inspection of the dual renderings showed that they were far more common in L. and Mk. than in M. and J., and this phenomenon is characteristic of all forms of variation, and is strikingly illustrated by the examination of the material as a whole, which shows that the total amount of variation of the C.A. from the Greek text of Streitberg, both linguistic and textual, is by far the greatest in Luke, and greater in L. and Mk. together than in M. and J.

The number of passages collected and collated as exhibiting variation of any kind from the Greek text totals 1,500, the figures for M., J., L., Mk. respectively, being 164.285.613.438. Now, by counting the number of printed lines occupied by M., J., L., and Mk. in the text of Streitberg, we can compare the bulk of what is extant of each of the four Gospels.[1] This proportion is represented by the index figures 18.35.51.39, approximately = 1 : 2 : 3(−) : 2(+), and, by dividing each of the former figures by the appropriate index figure, we arrive at the quotients 9.1, 8.1, 12.0, 11.2,

[1] Of the whole text of each of the four Greek Gospels the C.A. presents 25 per cent. in M., 62 per cent. in J., 66 per cent. in L., and 86 per cent. in Mk. Of the four Gospels, taken as a whole, 57 per cent. is extant in Gothic.

which means that, after allowing for the differences in bulk of what remains extant of each of the four Gospels, Luke shows an excess of 33 per cent. over M., and 50 per cent. over J. in total variation.

This is not surprising, since it is this Gospel, in the Greek MSS., where Western readings are especially prominent, and which, in the C. A., will be shown to be intimately connected with the African Palatinus.[1] As often, L. and Mk. agree in exceeding, in this respect, the other two Gospels, whilst M. and J. show approximately the same figures. If the text of John, on the whole, seems even more conservative than that of Matthew, it is due to the distinctive character of that Gospel, both in subject-matter and in the fact that it has less points of contact with the other Gospels than they have with one another. Matthew shows, in general, a more primitive translation-technique than, at any rate, L. and Mk., whilst the multiple renderings discussed in a later chapter are found anywhere but in Matthew. See chapter xi and pp. 242–3.

We give, in anticipation, a few instances where M. and J. agree in vocabulary against L. and Mk.

Απ)αρνεισθαι is rendered by *afaikan, laugnian, inwidan* :—

1. trans. and intr.	*afaikan*	M. x. 33 (*bis*); xxvi. 72, 75; J. xiii. 38; xviii. 25, 27; L. ix. 23; Mk. xiv. 68
2. intr.	*laugnian*	L. viii. 45; Mk. xiv. 70; M. (Ambros. C) xxvi. 70, 72.
3. trans.	*inwidan*	Mk. viii. 34; xiv. 72; M. (Ambros. C) xxvi. 75.

Here M. and J. agree against L., Mk., and the Codex Ambros.

Δοξαζειν is represented by	*hauhjan*	2.19.1.1
	gaswerjan	0. 3.0.0.
	mikiljan	1. 0.3.0.
	awiliudon	0. 0.1.0.

Here, again, M. and J. agree in translating by *hauhjan*, which is, apparently, the original rendering. The use of *mikiljan* in Luke derives from the O.Lat. *magnificare* (see p. 171). *Mikiljan* in M. ix. 8 may be from the parallel L. v. 26 (pp. 172, 238), whilst the isolated *awiliudon* in L. xviii. 43 is corrupt (p. 135). For the conflate Mk. ii. 12 see p. 222.

Αρχιερευς. This extraordinary word appears as *gudja* 4.4.1.2. M. and

[1] Kenyon, *Text. Crit. N.T.* p. 338, 'Indeed it is in this book [*scil.* Acts] and its companion, the Gospel of St. Luke, that the divergence of the δ-text alike from the α-text and the β-text is most marked.' So von Soden, p. 1335, with reference to the latinisms of the Codex Bezae: 'Am deutlichsten tritt es im Lukas hervor, dass der einwirkende lateinische text af ist. Denn hier ist in den perikopen . . . der text von δ 5 fast wortgerecht der von e, dem zeugen der af., unter starken abweichungen von dem sonst im griechischen und lateinischen herrschenden text.'

J. agree in having *gudja* 4/5 and 4/15 = 8/20, against L. 1/4 and Mk. 2/20 = 3/24. See chap. xiii. § 1.

The following list of Greek words that are found represented in Gothic by two apparently synonymous renderings is somewhat conservative, as from it have been excluded:

1. Dual renderings representing different senses of the Greek, including such cases as λαμπειν = *liuhtjan* (*lucere*) in M. v. 15, 16; *skeinan* in L. xvii. 24 (*fulgere*), where the difference, if any, must be very slight; indeed, 2 Cor. iv. 6 φως λαμψαι *liuhaþ skeinan* would suggest that these words must have been practically synonymous. So also ιματιον, which is regularly rendered by *wasti* 4.3.6.11 except in the parabolic reference to the new cloth and the old garment, where the Goth has *snaga* 1.0.1.1.

2. Slight variations in diction, often imposed by circumstance, such as would naturally suggest themselves to any writer, e.g., M. viii. 2 καθαρισαι *gahrainjan*, viii. 3 καθαρισθητι *wairþ hrains*, L. iv. 27 εκαθαρισθη *gahrainids was*.

3. Double renderings that are, or may be, for the most part stylistic variants. Thus νεος is represented by *juggs* 1.0.4.2 and *niujis* (which regularly stands for καινος 2.1.2.3 times) 1.0.2.1. Since, however, these two renderings are manifestly stylistic variants in the parallels M. ix. 17, L. v. 37, 38, and Mk. ii. 22, the dual renderings of νεος have been omitted from this list. Where, however, the dual renderings occur only rarely in the same context, such renderings have been admitted, and the passages concerned cited in the footnotes.

4. Alternative renderings that occur rarely enough in comparison with the majority to be termed exceptional, as, e.g. ειδον = *gaumjan* 7 times, against *ga*)*saihvan* 121. In this case *gaumjan*, where it occurs, has been treated in the next chapter.

5. The numerous instances where a simple verb varies with a compound, since these are normally syntactical. No attempt has been made, either, to distinguish between such as *bisaihvan*, *insaihvan*, and *ussaihvan* = περιβλεψαι, since in series of this kind the adverbial force of the prefix tends to vanish behind its perfective function. (Cf. p. 27 note).

Care has thus been taken to include only those dual renderings that cannot be shown to have been occasioned by any specific circumstance.

For the convenience of the reader, the dual renderings are set out under four categories, according as

1. The Greek word occurs at least twice in M., and is there represented either entirely by one rendering, or preponderatingly by one of both.

2. The Greek word occurs only twice in M, and is translated differently in each case.

3. The Greek word occurs only once in Matthew.

4. The Greek word does not occur in Matthew.

List I. The Greek word occurs at least twice in Matthew and is in that Gospel represented entirely (thus when only two instances occur), or preponderatingly by one rendering.

ακολουθειν	*laistjan afar* / *laistjan* + dir. obj.[1]	8.10.12.14.
	gaggan afar + dat.	3. 1. 1. 6.
βασιλεια (του θεου, του ουρανου)	*þiudangardi*	6. 0.20.13.
	þiudinassus	0. 0. 2. 1.
βασιλεια (*per se*)	*þiudangardi*	3. 1. 2. 3.
	þiudinassus[2]	1. 0. 2. 0.
δικαιος	*garaihts*[3]	4. 2. 7. 1.
	uswaurhts	1. 0. 1. 1.
εκβαλλειν (drive out)	*uswairpan*	4. 4. 5.11.
	usdreiban	3. 0. 3. 4.
ευθεως	*suns*	3. 2. 1.19.
	sunsaiw[4]	0. 1. 0.16.
θεραπευειν	*ga)hailjan*	3. 0. 5. 6.
	leikinon	0. 0. 6. 0.
ιασθαι[5]	*ga)hailjan, gahailnan*	2. 0. 7. 1.
	ganasjan	0. 1. 2. 0.
μνημεια, μνηματα	*hlaiwasnos*	3. 0. 1. 0.
	aurahjom (dat. pl.)	0. 0. 0. 3.
νεκρος[6]	*daubs*	3. 3. 6. 8.
	naus	0. 0. 3. 0.
οικια[7]	*gards*	6. 4. 9.11.
	razn	3. 0. 8. 0.
περιπατειν	*gaggan*[8]	2. 8. 2. 4.
	ƕarbon	0. 2. 0. 1.
πονηρος	*ubils*[9]	4. 1. 7. 1.
	unsels	2. 1. 2. 1.

[1] Here J. differs from M., favouring the constr. with the dir. obj.; the figures are, *laistjan afar* 7.0.4.8, *laistjan* + dir. obj. 1.10.8.6.

[2] Of these, M. vi. 10 and L. i. 33 perhaps mark an attempt to suggest the enduring state of God's kingdom: pp. 42, 117 (Mk. ix. 1).

[3] *Uswaurhts* in the parallels M. ix. 13, Mk. ii. 17 (p. 238) may be purposely antithetic to *frawaurhts*, which occurs in the immediate context, as also in M. xi. 19, but not in L. x. 29. Cf. also δικαιουν L. vii. 29, xvi. 15 *garaihtana domjan*, M. xi. 19, L. x. 29 *uswaurhtana domjan*.

[4] In Mk., *suns* occurs in chaps. i–vi; *sunsaiw* in chaps. iii–xv. For L. cf. παραχρημα = *suns* six times, *sunsaiw* two.

[5] *Nasjan* strictly corresponds to σωζειν. For L. xvii. 15 ιαθη *hrains warþ* see p. 127 (J. xii. 40).

[6] Cf. τεθνηκως (list 4), and see pp. 108 f. (L. ix. 60).

[7] The passages M. vii. 24–6 and L. vi. 48 9 (*razn*) are parallel, whilst L. vii. 37 perhaps varies with *gards* in v. 36. Note that οικος – *gards* 2.1.22.11 = 36/37, the exception being Mk. xi. 17, *razn* (house of prayer).

[8] In proximate context: J. vii. 1 *ƕarboda . . . gaggan*.

[9] *Ubils*, *unsels* occur in proximate context in M. v. 37, 39; vi. 13, 23; L. vi. 22, 35; Mk. vii. 22, 23.

List I (*continued*):

πυρετος, πυρεσσουσα	*heilo, in heitom*	2.0. 0.0.
	brinno, in brinnom	0.0. 2.2.
συναγωγη	*gaqumþs*	3.1. 1.0.
	swnagoge[1]	0.1. 9.6.
φανερος (εις τ.φ. εν τ.φ.)	*in bairhtein*	2.0. 0.0.
	swikunþs (*-jan*)	0.0. 1.3.
φοβειν	*ogan*	5.5.13.9.
	faurhtjan, &c.	0.0. 2.2.
φωνειν (crow)	*hrukjan*[2]	2.2. 0.1.
	wopjan	0.0. 0.2.

List II. The Greek word occurs only twice in Matthew, translated differently in each case.

ανηρ (man)[3]	*wair*	1. 1.7.1.
	manna	1. 0.7.1.
αποθνησκειν[4]	*gadauþnan*	1.12.4.4.
	gaswiltan	1. 7.7.5.
θυρα	*daur*	1. 4.0.5.
	haurds[5]	1. 0.0.0.
κλεπτειν[6]	*stilan*	1. 1.0.0.
	hlifan	1. 0.1.1.
λεπρος	*þrutsfills*	1. 0.3.0.
	þrutsfill habands[7]	1. 0.0.1.
νομιζειν	*hugjan*	1. 0.1.0.
	ahjan	1. 0.0.0.
οψιας γενομενης[8]	*seiþus*	1. 1.0.0.
	andanahti, &c.	1. 0.0.5.

List III. The Greek word occurs only once in Matthew.

αγγαρευειν	*ananauþjan*	1.0.0.0.
	undgreipan[9]	0.0.0.1.
αυλη (court)	*rohsns*[10]	1.1.0.1.
	gards[11]	0.0.0.3.

[1] In L. iv. 15, 16, stylistic variants: see above, p. 78.
[2] M. xxvi. 75 *faur hanins hruk*: see p. 229.
[3] In the sense 'husband' = *aba*. L. xix. 2 *guma* is an isolated exception.
[4] *Gadauþnan* and *gaswiltan* sometimes vary contextually: see pp. 77, 81.
[5] *Haurds* occurs also in 1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 12; Col. iv. 3; Neh. vii. 1. Streitberg (*W.B.*) glosses this word '(*geflochtene*) *Tür*', which etymologizing definition hardly applies to the passages cited, especially the last.
[6] *Hlifan* seems to be the traditional rendering: cf. L. xviii. 20; Mk. x. 19, *ni hlifais* (eighth commandment). The word occurs twice in the Epistles. *Stilan* is found only in M. and J., *stiland* in M. vi. 20 being a stylistic variant from *hlifand* in v. 19.
[7] These (M. viii. 2; Mk. i. 40) are parallel passages: see pp. (148), 239.
[8] Including Mk. xi. 19 οψε εγενετο.
[9] Mk. xv. 21, probably after L. xxiii. 26 επιλαβομενοι: see p. 233.
[10] Mk. xiv. 66 *in rohsnai*: cf. *in garda*, v. 54, αυλην.
[11] This includes Mk. xiv. 68 εις το προαυλιον (*galaiþ*) *faur gard*.

List III (*continued*):

δαιμων	*skohsl*[1]	1.0.1. 0.
	unhulþa, -þo	0.0.1. 1.
διαφημιζειν	*usmerjan*	1.0.0. 0.
	usgiþan	0.0.0. 1.
επηρεαζειν	*usþriutan*	1.0.0. 0.
	anamahtjan	0.0.1. 0.
εσθιειν[2]	*matjan*	1.0.8. 8.
	itan	0.0.2. 0.
ετος[3]	*wintrus*	1.0.2. 0.
	jer	0.1.9. 2.
ηλιος	*sunno*	1.0.1. 2.
	sauil	0.0.0. 2.
θυσια	*hunsl*[4]	1.0.1. 1.
	saụþs	0.0.0. 1.
θρηνειν	*hiufan*[5]	1.0.1. 0.
	gaunon	0.0.1. 1.
καλειν (invite)	*laþon*[6]	1.0.1.* 1.
	haitan	0.0.8. 0.
κεραια (tittle)	*striks* (M. v. 18)	1.0.0. 0.
	writs (L. xvi. 17)	0.0.1. 0.
κρατειν (seize)[7]	*ga)haban*	1.0.0. 2.
	greiþan (*fair-, und-*)	0.0.1.10.
κωμη[8]	*haims*	1.1.9. 3.
	weihs	0.2.0. 5.
λατομειν	*ushulon*	1.0.0. 0.
	gadraban	0.0.0. 1.
Μαμωνας	*mammonin*[9]	1.0.0. 0.
	faihuþraihna[9]	0.0.3. 0.
οργιζεσθαι	*modags* (*waiṛþạn*)	1.0.1. 0.
	þwairhs (οργισθεις)	0.0.1. 0.
πενθειν	*gainon*	1.0.0. 1.
	gaunon	0.0.1. 0.
πορνεια	*kalkinassus*	1.0.0. 0.
	horinassus[10]	0.1.0. 1.

[1] *Skohsl* is probably the original gloss; the marg. gloss to L. viii. 27 (? v. 29) is intended to restore the older reading: see p. 219.

[2] Also L. xv. 2 *συνεσθιει αυτοις miþmatjiþ im.*

[3] *Wintrus* would appear to be the older word. The quots. from L. include L. ii. 42 *twalibwintrus.*

[4] So *θυσιαστηριον hunslastaþs* 2.0.1.0.

[5] *Hufum* in L. vii. 32 is a marg. gloss to *gaunodedum*: see p. 219.

[6] 'To call the righteous' M. ix. 13; L. v. 32; Mk. ii. 17. The reading of M. has perhaps been levelled out: see p. 238.

[7] In the sense 'to hold (tradition)' = *haban* 0.0.0.4.

[8] A collation of all the passages in which *κωμη* occurs with the Old Latin texts shows that the variations in C. A. are quite independent of the renderings of the Old Latin.

[9] With marg. gloss *faihuþra* (M. vi. 24): see p. 219.

[10] *Hornassus* is here loosely used: see pp. 124–5.

List III (*continued*):

πτωχος	*unleþs*	1.2.8.2.
	þarbs[1]	0.2.0.1.
ρυμη	*garuns*	1.0.0.0.
	staiga	0.0.1.0.
σινδων	*saban*	1.0.0.0.
	lein	0.0.0.3.
σοφια	*handugei*	1.0.2.1.
	frodei[2]	0.0.1.0.
σπλαγχνιζεσθαι	*infeinan*	1.0.2.2.
	gableiþjan	0.0.0.1.
συνεδριον	*gaqumþs*[3]	1.0.0.0.
	gafaurds	0.0.0.2.
τελευταν	*gaswiltan*	1.0.0.2.
	gadauþnan, afdauþjan[4]	0.0.0.2.
τελωνιον	*mota*	1.0.0.1.
	motastaþs	0.0.1.0.
τρεχειν κ.τ.λ.	*þragjan*, etc.	1.0.2.1.
	rinnan, etc.	0.0.0.3.
χορτος	*hawi*	1.1.0 0.
	gras	0.0.0.1.
χωρα	*gawi*	1.0.3.0.
	land	0.0.4.2.

List IV. The word does not occur in Matthew.

αγαλλιαν, -ιασις	*sifan*	0. 1. 0.0.
	swegnjan, -iþa	0. 0. 4.0.
αγειν[5]	*at-, ga)tiuhan*	0. 4. 5.1.
	briggan	0. 1. 3.1.
ατιμαζειν, ατιμαν	*unsweran*	0. 1. 1.0.
	ganaitjan[6]	0. 0. 0.1.
βλασφημια	*wajamereins*[7]	[1.]1. 0.2.
	naiteins	0. 0. 1.2.
γεωργος	*waurstwja*	0. 1. 1.4.
	aurtja	0. 0. 4.0.
γονεις	*fadrein*	0. 5. 2.0.
	berusjos[8]	0. 1. 2.0.
δαπαναν	*frawisan*	0. 0. 1.0.
	fraqiman	0. 0. 0.1.

[1] J. xii. 5, 6, 8 *þarbam . . . þarbane . . . unledans.* See p. 81 (*dreiklang*).
[2] L. ii. 40, 52 *handugeins . . . frodein* occur in very similar context.
[3] Cf. συναγωγη = *gaqumþs* (List I).
[4] Mk. ix. 44, 46, 48 *gaswiltiþ . . . gaswiltiþ . . . gadauþniþ*: see p. 81 (*dreiklang*). Mk. vii. 10 *dauþau afdauþjaidau*: see p. 137.
[5] In the sense 'bring, lead, &c.'; αγωμεν = *gaggam.*
[6] L. xx. 11 *unswerandans.* Mk. xii. 4 *ganaitidana* are parallel passages (parable of the vineyard).
[7] The quot. from M. is from the Cod. Ambros. C. (p. 239).
[8] J. ix. 23 *berusjos* varies in the same context with *fadrein* in v. 22.

List IV (*continued*):

ιδιος	*swes*	0.4.1.1
	seins	0.2.1.0.
κονιορτος	*mulda* [1]	0.0.1.0.
	stubjus	0.0.1.0.
λιμνη	*marisaiws*	0.0.3.0.
	saiws	0.0.2.0.
οργη	*hatis*	0.0.1.0.
	moþs	0.0.0.1.
παθειν	*winnan*	0.0.1.2.
	gaþulan	0.0.1.1.
ραβδος	*walus*	0.0.1.0.
	hrugga	0.0.0.1.
σκηνη	*hleiþra*	0.0.2.0.
	hlijans	0.0.0.1.
τεθνηκως [2]	*dauþs*	0.3.0.0.
	naus	0.0.1.0.
τραχηλος	*hals*	0.0.1.0.
	halsagga	0.0.0.1.
χρονος [3]	*mel*	0.3.4.1.
	hveila	0.1.1.1.

These four lists comprise 72 Greek words that are represented in the Gothic text of the C. A. by dual (synonymous) renderings.[4] If we indicate the first [5] and second of each pair of renderings by the letter A and B, respectively, and add up the figures denoting the number of times that each rendering occurs in each of the Gospels, we obtain the following totals:

List I (18 words):	A.	65.43. 98.102.
	B.	13. 7. 44. 48.
List II (7 words):	A.	7.19. 15. 10.
	B.	7. 7. 15. 13.
List III (30 words):	A.	30. 5. 42. 28.
	B.	0. 6. 36. 46.
List IV (17 words):	A.	0.23. 25. 11.
	B.	0. 5. 25. 11.

For testing the relative incidence of dual renderings in M.–J. as compared with L.–Mk. we must necessarily exclude the last list from

[1] *κονιορτος* = *mulda* L. ix. 5, *stubjus* L x. 11. In Mk. vi. 11 *mulda* translates *χους*. These three are parallels.

[2] Cf. *νεκρος* in List I.

[3] Also L. xx. 9 *χρονους ικανους jera ganoha*.

[4] The original list, compiled less critically as the material accumulated, and more liberally admitting cases which closer inspection showed to come under different categories, numbered just over 100.

[5] In List I, that rendering has been placed first which is most frequent in M.; in Lists II and IV, that which occurred, or predominated, in John.

our calculation, whilst Lists III and II are not available because in neither have we a majority of renderings in Matthew.

The first list, however, gives us a fair picture of the comparative frequency of alternative renderings in the four Gospels, and from this it appears that whichever rendering predominates in M. and J. is also numerically better represented in L. and Mk., but the disproportion between the relative frequency of the second rendering in these two groups of Gospels is very striking, the proportions being, in M. and J., 5 to 1 and 6 to 1 respectively, but in L. and Mk. only a fraction over 2 to 1.

We can make use of List IV in the same way to give us an indication of the relation between John and L.–Mk., by adding up the figures relating to the 9 words that are represented in John. They are:

A. 0.23.14.9.
B. 0. 5.17.5.

and, so far as they go, they indicate the same greater uniformity of rendering in John as we find in Matthew. To this characteristic difference between M.–J. and L.–Mk. we shall return in a later chapter.

Pairs of renderings like *gaqumþs-swnagoge*, *in þairhtein-swikunþs* illustrate the more primitive character of the renderings in Matthew, whilst such as *ogan-faurhtjan*, *sunno-sauil*, *hiufan-gaunon*, *qainon-gaunon*, *wintrus-jer*, *hawi-gras*, *naiteins-wajamerains* may point to dialectal differences. See chap. xi.

VII

EXCEPTIONAL RENDERINGS

When we find that εισερχεσθαι is translated in the Gothic of the C. A. by

inn)gaggan, etc.	7.4.15. 7. = 33 times
inn)galeiþan, etc.	2.4.18.22. = 46 times
qiman . . . in	1.0. 1. 1. = 3 times,

it is evident that we have in *qiman* a rendering which is sufficiently rare to challenge inquiry. The other two renderings are, *prima facie*, quite unexceptionable.

Similarly, in the case of εξερχεσθαι, the obvious and usual rendering is *usgaggan* 12.8.29.26. = 75. We are, therefore, justified in examining rather more critically the propriety of translating the same Greek word by

urrinnan (note M. viii. 28)	1.6.4.3.
galeiþan (*ut*, &c.)	0.2.1.3.
atiddja ut	0.2.0.0.
qam	0.0.0.1.
usstandan	0.0.0.2.

Even where the material is not so plentiful, we are entitled to say that διερχεσθαι is properly rendered by

þairhgaggan, &c.	0.0.5.0.
þairhleiþan, &c.	0.0.3.0.

but that closer scrutiny is called for in the case of

usleiþan	0.1.0.1.
galeiþan	0.0.1.0.
usmernan	0.0.1.0.

whilst we will inquire into M. v. 37 *vai vai ja ja*, because *vai* is elsewhere represented by *jai* 2.1.2.0. = 5 out of 6 times.

These exceptional or abnormal renderings are in the majority of instances found to be purposive and justified.

Thus, to take the first example, M. v. 20 *ου μη εισελθητε ni þau qimiþ in þiudangardjai himine*. Here *qimiþ*, which has been levelled out into the parallels L. xviii. 17 and Mk. x. 15, makes perfectly good sense, but one is nevertheless left wondering why, out of 82 instances where

εισερχεσθαι appears, only three of these have *qiman* in the Gothic, the remaining 79 showing the normal *inn)gaggan . . . in* (33), *inn)galeiþan . . . in* (46).

The writer believes that *qiman* is in these passages used advisedly. E. g. in L. xviii. 17 *saei ni andnimiþ þiudangardja gudis swe barn, ni qimiþ in izai, qiman* is a very emphatic effective perfective = 'will never reach the Kingdom of God, will never get there.' With this passage let the reader compare L. xviii. 24 *haiwa agluba þai faihu habandans inngaleiþand in þiudangardja gudis*, where the difficulty of access is emphasized by the aggressive perfective *inngaleiþand*.

The five instances of *jai*, again, render the strongly asseverative sense of the Greek ναι 'yea verily'. In M. v. 37 'let your speech be yea, yea' the Goth has chosen the weakest form of the affirmative adverb to express the sense of plain and unemphatic 'yes', and nothing more. Cf. also 2 Cor. i. 17–20.

In other cases, again, the exceptional rendering is due to the influence of the Old Latin or of parallel passages, &c.

Thus, in L. v. 15 διηρχετο λογος *usmernoda* may have been suggested by the Old Latin *diuulgabatur*.

Such cases are fully discussed wherever, in this book, we have occasion to illustrate the phenomena of which they are examples.[1]

There remain, however, numerous instances where the exceptional rendering is manifestly wrong. Thus, L. xiv. 15 των συνανακειμενων appears as *þizei anakumbjandane*, against *miþanakumbjandam* in v. 10, and συνανακεισθαι altogether = *miþanakumbjan* 6 out of 7 times. We are justified in saying that *anakumbjandane* in v. 15 does not correctly translate the Greek (p. 134).

The same may quite certainly be said of the single instance in L. vii. 39 where ειπειν = *rodida*, although elsewhere represented by *qiþan* more than 400 times, and by *haitan* 3 times. So also where λεγειν = *rodjan* 4 times, but *qiþan* 504 times. These inaccurate or indifferent renderings are dealt with separately below (chapter viii).

Yet, after all these cases have been accounted for, we are left with renderings whose variation from the normal we feel unable definitely to explain. Some renderings appear to be mere synonyms, or, at any rate, cannot be proved to be otherwise; whilst others strike one as unsatisfactory without being demonstrably wrong.

For instance, εξερχεσθαι twice appears as *usstandan*, viz.:
Mk. vi. 1 *jah usstoh* (εξηλθεν) *jainþro jah qam* (ηλθεν) *in landa seinamma.*

[1] See the chapters on Stylistic Variation (v), Dual Renderings (vi), Inferior Renderings (viii), The Palatinian Bilingual (xiii), Gothic Parallels (xvii).

Mk. xi. 12 *usstandandam im* (εξελθοντων αυτων) *us Bęþaniin gredags was.*

Now *usiddja* and *usgaggandam*, or *galeiþandam im ut us Bęþaniin* would have done at least as well, and would at the same time have been more literal and more precise. *Usstandan*, if not definitely inaccurate, is at least a very free rendering = 'to break up from thence,' Ger. *sich aufmachen*, suggested, perhaps, by similar passages where *usstandan* represents the Greek αναστηναι. See pp. 117, 235.

The rendering of Mk. xi. 12, at any rate, seems to be without any justification; in the other passage, however, *usstoþ*, anticipating the following *qam*, may represent a familiar colloquialism of speech.

Insomuch, however, as *usstandan* fails to conform to Wulfilian uniformity, it is dealt with here.

It is proposed, then, in this chapter to discuss all renderings that are in any way exceptional, and which we hesitate definitely to describe as stylistic variants, or parallel or reminiscent renderings, or as influenced by the Old Latin, or as blunders, or loose renderings or what not. The following will therefore serve as a general supplement to the material that appears in illustration of most of the stylistic phenomena that are treated in this book. In addition, it will form a repository for such rare alternative renderings whose variation may be due to the dialect of the revisor or scribe.

M. v. 20 ου μη εισελθητε *ni þau qimiþ*. Elsewhere *inn)gaggan* or *inn)galeiþan* 79 82. Thus also the parallels L. xviii. 17 and Mk. x. 15. See above, pp. 92–3; also p. 238.

M. vi. 6 θυραν *haurdai*. See p. 87, note 5.

M. vi. 10 βασιλεια *þiudinassus*: see p. 42. So L. i. 33, Mk. ix. 1.

M. viii. 1 οχλοι πολλοι *iumjons managos* (απαξ Gosp. & Epist.); also M. viii. 18 πολλους οχλους *managans hiuhmans*. Now οχλος = *managei* 8.15.25.32. = 80/86, and *hiu(h)ma* 1.0.4.0.

The isolated *iumjons* of M. viii. 1 is puzzling. It may be a scribal variant of **hiumjons*[1] exhibiting the stem of *hiu(h)m-a* with change of gender and formative suffix. Cf. *fauragagga, fauragaggja; gasinþa, gasinþja*; also *mitaþs, mitaðjo; bandwa, bandwo*. For the case of M. viii. 18 see below, L. v. 15.

M. viii. 31 δαιμονες *skohsla*: see p. 88 note 1.

M. ix. 2, 3, 18 και ιδου . . . και ιδου . . . ιδου = *þanuh . . . þaruh . . . þaruh*. Wherever else the phrase και ιδου occurs in M. the C. A. reads *jah sai* (viz. M. viii. 2, 24, 29, 32; ix. 10, 20). The use of *þaruh* as an introductory phrase replacing και is exemplified in J. vii. 45, ix. 2

[1] For K. F. Johansson's laboured effort to provide an etymon, see *PBB.* xv. 230.

[iii. 23 = Skeir. iii. 1], cf. also L. vii. 12, 37 και ιδου *þaruh sai*; but the omission of ιδου is unparalleled except in M. xxvii. 51 (και ιδου = *jah þan*), being regularly translated by *sai* 10.10.31.16 = 67/71 times. With M. ix. 2 *þanuh atberun du imma* cf. *et obtulerunt ei* a; ix. 3 *þaruh sumai*; *quidam autem de scribis* a, c.

M. ix. 11 και ιδοντες *jah gaumjandans Fareisaieis qeþun*; also:

J. ix. 1 ειδεν *gaumida mann blindamma us gabaurþai.*

J. xii. 40 ινα μη ιδωσι *ei ni gaumidedeina augam.*

L. v. 8 ιδων δε *gaumjands þan S. P. draus du kniwam Iesuis.*

L. xvii. 14, 15 ιδων *gaumjands qaþ du im; gaumjands þammei hrains warþ.*

Mk. iv. 12 ινα βλεποντες βλεπωσιν και μη ιδωσιν *ei saihvandans saihvaina jah ni gaumjaina* (R. V. perceive: cf. p. 68).

Gaumjan makes perfectly good sense in all these passages, whilst in Mk. iv. 12, Lk. xvii. 14, 15, and J. xii. 40 it is more suitable than *gasaihvan* which, however, could in all but the last instance be used with perfect propriety, as it has been in the numerous passages of a similar nature. The R. V. has 'see' in all these, except in Mk. iv. 12. Elsewhere we have ειδον = *gasaihvan* 13.8.37.38, *saihvan* 4.9.8.5 = 122/129. So also εωρακα = *ga)saihvan* 10/10; οραν = *ga)saihvan* 7/7; οψομαι = *ga)saihvan* 11/15.

M. ix. 13 δικαιος *uswaurhts* (= *garaihts* 14/17). So also L. xiv. 14, and Mk. ii. 17. See p. 86, note 3.

M. ix. 16 ιματιῳ . . . ιματιου *snagan* . . . *snagin*: vg. f *vestimentum*. Elsewhere this word is translated by *wasti* 25/28. The rare *snaga* has been levelled out in the parallels L. v. 36, and Mk. ii. 21 (p. 238), and no doubt designated a special article of dress, whilst *wasti* represents also ενδυμα, στολη, χιτων, ιματισμος. But why the exceptional *snaga* should have been chosen just for this passage is not clear.

M. ix. 18: see M. ix. 2.

M. ix. 20 δωδεκα ετη *bloþarinnandei .ib. wintruns*. Elsewhere = *jer* 12/14. The parallels L. viii. 43, Mk. v. 25 read *jera twalif*: see L. viii. 42–3. See also pp. 88, note 3, 91.

M. xi. 1 οτε ετελεσεν *biþe usfullida Iesus anabiudands*. Elsewhere συν)τελειν = *ustiuhan* 3.0.6.0 = 9/10; cf. τελειουν = *ustiuhan* 0.2.1.0 = 3/3. *Usfulljan*, *-nan* = πληρουν, -ουσθαι 22/24 in the sense 'fulfil, fill'.

M. xi. 13 παντες γαρ οι προφηται . . . προεφητευσαν *allai auk praufetеis* . . . *fauraqeþun*. Elsewhere we have *praufetjan* 5/6. Here perhaps the isolated *fauraqiþan* is intended to avoid the combination *praufetеis* . . . *praufetidedun*.

M. xi. 14 ει θελετε δεξασθαι αυτος εστιν Ηλιας *jabai wildedeiþ miþniman.* Δεχεσθαι (παρα-, κτλ.), in both concrete and figurative use = *andniman* 23/26. See L. xvi. 6, 7 for the other exception.

M. xxvii. 2 παρεδωκαν αυτον *anafulhun ina*; thus also J. xviii. 35 παρεδωκαν σε εμοι *anafulhun þuk mis.* In the sense 'to hand over, deliver unto', the Greek verb is elsewhere rendered by *atgiban* 15 times. In L. and Mk. *anafilhan* = 'to hand down (by tradition)'. In J. xviii. 36, however, we have *ei ni galewiþs wesjau*, the only instance where *galewjan* is used in this way: see p. 74, where the group is discussed.

M. xxvii. 9 ελαβον *jah usnemun þrins tiguns silubreinaize.* Λαμβανειν is represented by the perfective *niman* 47, 62, even where the Greek verb is in the aorist, as, indeed, in the parallel passage in v. 6 *nimandans þans skattans.* Here, perhaps, *usnemun* precisions the action as one of 'taking up', although in this sense αιρειν is regularly rendered *niman.* Cf. L. vi. 4, the only other passage similarly rendered: αρτους της προθεσεως ελαβεν *hlaibans faurlageinais usnam.*

M. xxvii. 46 ανεβοησεν *ufhropida* (for **ufwopida*): see p. 234.

M. xxvii. 51 και ιδου *jah þan*: see M. ix. 2 above.

J. vi. 1 περαν της θαλασσης *ufar marein.* Περαν = *ufar* only in John, viz. vi. 1, 17; x. 40; xviii. 1. Elsewhere *hindar* 2.1.1.4; cf. also Mk. iii. 8 *hindana*, Mk. iv. 35 *jainis stadis.*

J. vi. 10 ποιησατε . . αναπεσειν *waurkeiþ þans mans anakumbjan.* Ποιειν, in the sense 'to cause to be or to do', with factitive complement = *ga)taujan* 2.6.2.3, and *waurkjan* only here and Mk. iii. 14 *gawaurhta twalif du wisan miþ sis.* Altogether the Greek verb = *ga)taujan* 23.58.57.41 = 179. *waurkjan* being represented in the sense 'to make, prepare or fashion' 0.5.7.3 = 15 times (and it is in this sense that it would seem to be most appropriately used), and in other senses 0.1.3.2 = 6 times. Note, however, that in L. ix. 14, 15 *gawaurkeiþ* (*im anakumbjan*) and *gatawidadun* (*anakumbjan allans*) seem to be used synonymously as stylistic variants: see p. 78, and below L. iii. 8, 19; xix. 18; Mk. iii. 35. For Mk. x. 6 *gumein jah qinein gatawida* see chap. viii, p. 137.

J. vi. 12 κλασματα *galisiþ þos afliþnandeins drauhsnos*; otherwise *gabruka* 5 0, as just below in v. 13: see p. 76. Elsewhere *drauhsnos* = ψιχια L. xvi. 21 and Mk. vii. 28.

J. vi. 15 ερχεσθαι *usgaggan*: only here. See p. 229.

J. vi. 17 περαν *ufar*: see J. vi. 1.

J. vi. 34 παντοτε *framwigis.* Elsewhere *sinteino* 0.5.1.1 = 7 8. *Framwigis* occurs once more in 1 Thess. iv. 17.

J. vi. 35 ου μη πειναση *þana gaggandan du mis ni huggreiþ*. *Huggrjan* only here and in 1 Cor. iv. 11: otherwise επεινασεν *gredags was*, πεινωντας *gredagans* &c. 2.0.5.2 = 9/10. Possibly *huggrjan* connotes a more permanent state than *gredags wisan*; cf. 1 Cor. iv. 11 πεινωμεν κτλ. *huggridai jah þaursidai jah naqadai jah kaupatidai jah ungastoþai* [scil. *sijum*].

J. vi. 51 ο εκ του ουρανου καταβας *sa us himina qumana* vg. f latt. *qui . . . descendi*. For the other renderings of καταβαινειν see p. 63.

The present rendering is extraordinary, the more so as v. 50 has *saei us himina atstaig*. It may be a bold stylistic variant: see p. 76.

J. vi. 51, 58 εις τον αιωνα *in ajukduþ*; so also L. i. 33. Elsewhere *in aiwins, du aiwa* &c. 1.7.1.2 = 11/14.

J. vi. 60 ακουειν *hausjon*; thus also L. v. 15, Mk. iv. 33 and once in 2 Tim. ii. 14. This form occurs nowhere else; otherwise *hausjan* and the compounds *ga-, andhausjan* 148 times.

J. vii. 45 ηλθον . . . προς τους αρχιερεις *galiþun þan þai andbahtos du þaim auhumistam gudjam*. Ερχεσθαι appears as *qiman* in 175, as *at)gaggan* in 46 = 221 passages. Other renderings (7) occur 10 times among which *galeiþan* occurs here and J. xiv. 23, Mk. v. 38. *Galeiþan* seems rather to mean 'to go away, depart from, set out for (and arrive at)', frequently rendering απελθειν, which, in fact, is translated by *galeiþan* 49, *afleiþan* 2, *usleiþan* 1 = 52/56, and by *gaggan* in the remaining 4 instances. In this passage, then, *galiþun* either is not the happiest rendering, or else has been purposely chosen to express the precise shade of meaning which the translator read into the original, say, 'The officers therefore (departed and) came to the chief priests.' The same pregnant sense seems to be conveyed in the other passages. J. xiv. 23 και προς αυτον ελευσομεθα και μονην παρ' αυτῳ ποιησομεν *jah du imma galeiþos*; Mk. v. 38 και ερχεται εις τον οικον *jah galaiþ in gard þis swnagogafadis*; in the latter case *galaiþ* goes well with the following *jah innatgaggands* (v. 39).

J. viii. 31 εαν υμεις μεινητε εν τῳ λογῳ τῳ εμῳ, αληθως μαθηται μου εστε *jabai jus gastandiþ in waurda meinamma*: vg. f *manseritis; permanseritis* b d e r aur.

Μενειν 'to abide, endure' is rendered by *wisan* (including the alternative present tense *im* &c., *sijau* &c.) 1.20.2.0 = 23/32 times. The other renderings are:

J. x. 40 εμεινεν εκει *salida jainar*.

J. xi. 6 εμεινεν εν ῳ ην τοπῳ δυο ημερας *salida in þammei was stada*.

L. ix. 4 εκει μενετε και εκειθεν εξερχεσθε *þar saljiþ*.

Mk. vi. 10 εκει μενετε εως αν εξελθητε *þar saljaiþ.*

L. i. 56 εμεινεν δε Μαριαμ *gastoþ þan Mariam miþ izai swe menoþs þrins.*

L. ii. 43 υπεμεινεν Ιησους ο παις εν Ιηρουσαλημ *gastoþ Iesus.*

J. xii. 24 μενει *aflifniþ* (see p. 127).

L. viii. 27 εμενεν *gawas*; L. i. 22 διεμενεν κωφος *was dumbs* (see below).

The metaphor suggested by the verb *gastandan* is the coming to a halt, the resumption of the journey being left unconsidered; Mary 'stopped' with her kinswoman; Jesus 'stayed' his journey. The use of this ingressive perfective[1] is apt enough in these passages; J. viii. 31, however, needs some explanation. Jesus is speaking to 'those Jews which had believed Him', recent converts, and the thought seems to be 'stay your journey after Truth; having found it here, make your abode with me'.[2]

In L. i. 56, *saljan* would have been an equally good rendering (cf. J. xi. 6), and *wisan* would have stood in J. viii. 31, witness J. xv. 7 εαν δε μεινητε εν εμοι *jabai sijuþ in mis*. Whatever may be, in these passages, the grammatical and exegetical significance of the Greek aorists of the durative verb μενειν, their treatment in the Gothic has been as ingressive perfectives, which would have been equally appropriate in other passages, as, e.g. in J. xv. 9 μεινατε εν τη αγαπη τη εμη *wisaiþ in friaþwai meinai*.[3]

Streitberg's explanation of *gastandan* in L. i. 56 as = 'verblieb' (*PBB.* xv. 153), and of the same verb in J. viii. 31 (cf. note 2 below), and A. Beer's objections (*PBB.* xliii. 461) led me to examine all the passages in which occurs any rendering of μενειν other than *wisan*. It will be seen that in no case is the aorist indicative εμεινεν translated by the past tense of *wisan*, which does not surprise, since *was* seems, *a priori*, a weak and incompetent equivalent of 'he remained, abode', and also of the imperative μενετε used in its literal sense = 'abide', *manete*. At any rate, we have J. x. 40, xi. 6 εμεινεν *salida*, L. i. 56

[1] Streitberg (*E.B.* § 294, note 2) refers to this as an effective perfective. With the use of *gastandan* in J. viii. 31, cf. J. viii. 44 εν τη αληθεια ουχ εστηκεν *in sunjai ni gastoþ*; Rom. xi. 20 πιστει εστηκας *gastost*; 2 Cor. i. 24 πιστει εστηκατε *gastoþuþ*; Gal. ii. 5, ινα η αληθεια . . . διαμεινη *gastandai*.

[2] Cf. Streitberg, *PBB.* xv. 125, 'Der sinn ist also "für den fall, dass ihr bei meinem wort beharren werdet . . ".'

[3] Cf. A. Beer in *PBB.* xliii. 461, 'Fassen wir alles zusammen, so sehen wir, dass das einfache *wisan* (μενειν) auch an stellen gebraucht wird, wo eher komposita zu erwarten wären; dasselbe verhältnis treffen wir auch bei *saljan* (μενειν) an und die funktion des *ga-* in *gastandan* (μενειν) wird sowohl durch die parallelstellen, an denen nicht das zu erwartende kompositum, sondern wieder das einfache *wisan* erscheint, als auch durch das zusammengesetzte *gaþulan* (υπομενειν [viz. 2 Tim. ii. 12]) genügend klargestellt.'

εμεινεν, ii. 43 υπεμειναν = *gastoþ*, L. ix. 4, Mk. vi. 10 μενετε *saljaiþ*; whilst it is significant that in J. vii. 9 ταυτα δε ειπων αυτοις εμεινεν εν τη Γαλιλαια, the Goth avoids the difficulty by boldly inverting the construction, writing *þatuh þan qaþ du im wisands in Galeilaia* (whence f *haec autem dixit eis cum esset in galilaeam*, against vg. latt. *haec cum dixisset ipse mansit in gal.*) instead of (the impossible) *þatuh þan qiþands du im was in Gal.* Thus we have accounted for the five aorists and two imperatives. There remain two passages to be explained:

L. i. 22 ην διανευων αυτοις και διεμενεν κωφος *was bandwjands im jah was dumbs.*

L. viii. 27 εν οικια ουκ εμενεν, αλλα εν τοις μνημασιν *jah wastjom ni gawasiþs was jah in garda ni gawas, ak in hlaiwasnom.*

In the former passage, *was* seems weak and ineffective as the equivalent of διεμενεν (Western MSS., including D, read διεμεινεν). At any rate, nowhere does *wisan*, by itself, mean 'to persist, endure, continue'; in the four passages where *wisan* contextually bears the meaning 'endure', viz. M. xi. 23 *eis weseina und hina dag*, J. vi. 27 *mat þana wisandan du libainai aiweinon*, J. xv. 16 *akran izwar du aiwa sijai*, the adverbial complement supplies the idea of continuance, whilst in the fourth, J. ix. 41 *frawaurhts izwara þairhwisiþ*, where there is no temporal adjunct, the Goth has freely reinforced the simple verb. In L. i. 22 *gastoþ*, though not in every way satisfactory, would be an improvement on *was dumbs*, which is most probably influenced by the preceding *was bandwjands*.

Of the rendering *gawas* in L. viii. 27 Streitberg says (*PBB.* xv. 106) '*wisan* = "bleiben" erscheint anstandslos mit *ga-* zusammengesetzt [cf. *E. B.* § 297 note], vgl. L. viii. 27 *jah in garda nini gawas* "er verblieb nicht im hause"', against which Beer (*PBB.* xliii. 461) objects 'aber mit stillschweigen überging er die folgenden worte "sondern in den gräbern", die auf das nachdrücklichste verbieten, *gawas* "verblieb" zu übertragen: "er wohnte nicht im hause, sondern in den gräbern", das ist der sinn.' I agree with Beer. *Salida* would have been a better rendering. If *gawas* is corrupt, the explanation will be found in the preceding '*ni gawasiþs was*', and the confusion arising from *was . . . gawas . . . was . . . ga. . . .*

J. viii. 41 ποιειτε τα εργα *taujiþ toja attins*: vg. f *facitis opera.* Εργον = *waurstw* 19/20. Cf. v. 39 *waurstwa Abrahamis tawidedeiþ. Taui* occurs only here in the Gospels, but 5 times in the Epistles, rendering ενεργεια, ποιημα, πραγμα, πραξις.

J. viii. 51, 52 εις τον αιωνα *aiwa dage*: cf. J. vi. 51, 58.

J. ix. 1 ειδεν *gaumida*: see above, M. ix. 11.

J. x. 16 γενησονται μια ποιμνη *wairþand ain awiþi*, which is found once more in 1 Cor. ix. 7. *Awiþi* apparently means, specifically, a flock of sheep, but cf. L. ii. 8 where ποιμνη = *hairda*. Ποιμην occurs 10 times as *hairdeis*; αγελη = *hairda* 5.0.1.2.

J. x. 21 δαιμονιζομενου *unhulþon habandins*: see Mk. v. 15–18.

J. x. 40 περαν *ufar*: see J. vi. 1.

J. x. 40, xi. 6 εμεινεν *salida*: see J. viii. 31 (p. 97).

J. xi. 28 εφωνησεν Μαριαν την αδελφην αυτης λαθρα ειπουσα· ο διδασκαλος . . . φωνει σε *wopida Marjan, swistar seina, þiubjo qiþandei: laisareis qam jah haitiþ þuk*. *Haitan* renders φωνειν only here, L. xiv. 12, q.v. and Mk. iii. 31. Here perhaps a stylistic variant.

J. xi. 31 ηκολουθησαν αυτη *iddjedunuh afar izai*. The only case, in John, of the use of *gaggan afar* to render ακολουθειν: elsewhere always *laistjan* + dir. obj. 10 times. See p. 74.

J. xi. 34 ερχου και ιδε *frauja hiri jah saiw*. The imperative ερχου occurs M. viii. 9, L. vii. 8, where it is translated by *qim*. *Hiri* otherwise represents δευρο 0.1.1.1, cf. δευτε *hirjats* Mk. i. 17, *hirjiþ* xii. 7. In the present passage there may have been attraction to the following δευρο εξω *Lazaru hiri ut* (v. 43).

J. xii. 5, 6 πτωχοις *þarbam*: see Mk. x. 21 and p. 89, note 1.

J. xii. 40 ιδωσι *gaumidedeina*: see M. ix. 11.

J. xii. 48 μη λαμβανων *saei . . ni andnimiþ*. Elsewhere the perfective *niman* does duty 47/62: *andniman* only 8 times, here and J. xiii. 20, 30, L. xix. 15, Mk. x. 30, most probably because in each case λαμβανειν can be taken as = 'receive'. The passage from J. xiii. 20 may have been influenced by the parallel M. x. 40, where the Greek reads δεχεσθαι, which is regularly and properly represented by *andniman* 6.0.13.4 = 23/26 times. With Mk. x. 30 εαν μη λαβη *andnimai* cf. the parallels M. xix. 29 ληψεται and L. xviii. 30 απολαβη *andnimai*.

J. xiii. 26 βαψας . . εμβαψας *þammei ik ufdaupjands þana hlaif giba. jah ufdaupjands*. . . . Also L. vii. 29, iii. 21 (see p. 78). Elsewhere *daupjan* 17/17. (Cf. Streitberg in *PBB*. xv. 165.)

J. xiv. 23: see J. vii. 45 above.

J. xiv. 30 ουκετι πολλα λαλησω μεθ' υμων *filu ni maþlja miþ izwis*. The verb λαλειν = *rodjan* 78/80. *Maþljan* (only here) is probably a stronger word than *rodjan*: 'shall not hold disputations with you.'

J. xvi. 1 ινα μη σκανδαλισθητε *ei ni afmarzjaindau*: *ga*)*marzjan* 11/12. This is an instance of the colourlessness of verbal prefixes when used as an instrument of perfectivation. Cf. p. 46.

J. xvi. 12 ετι πολλα εχω λεγειν υμιν *nauh ganoh skal qiþan izwis*. Πολυς = *manags* 57, *filu* 11, *mikils* 1, *ganohs* 1, including πολλα = *manag*

0.1.1.4, *filu* 0.0.0.2, *ganoh* only here. The rendering satisfies the sense, no doubt, but it is elsewhere found representing only ικανος 0.0.3.1.

J. xviii. 1 περαν *ufar* : see J. vi. 1.

J. xviii. 20 εν τῳ ιερῳ *in gudhusa*. Elsewhere we find only *alhs* 18/19. This isolated rendering is unexplained (but cf. Fr. Kauffmann, *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 220, quoted above on p. 69, note.

J. xviii. 35, 36 *anafulhun, galewiþs wesjau* : see M. xxvii. 2 above.

L. i. 4 ινα επιγνῳς *ei gakunnais*. *Gakunnan* is apparently synonymous with *ufkunnan*, which renders επιγνωναι 2.0.2.3 = 7/9. Nevertheless *gakunnan* stands for επιγνωναι only in this passage, and for γνωναι only twice, L. viii. 17 and xix. 15 against *ufkunnan* 22 times. See pp. 58 ff.

L. i. 10 το πληθος *hiuhma*, a unique rendering. *Hiuhma* is apparently a Lucan word : cf. οχλος = *hiuhma* 1.0.4.0 = 5/86.

L. i. 12 φοβος επεπεσεν επ' αυτον *agis disdraus ina* : here the *mot juste*, cf. p. 176 (L. v. 26). *Driusan ana* occurs, in the literal sense, in L. xv. 20 and Mk. iii. 10.

L. i. 19 ο παρεστηκως ενωπιον του θεου *ik im Gabriel sa standands in andwairþja gudis*. παρεστ(ηκ)ως = *atstandands* 0.1.0.4, *faurastandands* 0.0.1.1 : see L. xix. 24 below. *Standands* will make sense, but the omission of a prefix in such a case is most unusual, and is here almost certainly due to the scribe. Cf. Mk. xv. 39 *sa atstandands in andwairþja is*. *Contra* Streitberg, note ad J. xviii. 22.

L. i. 22 επεγνωσαν οτι *froþun þammei siun gasahv*, vg. latt. *cognoverunt* : *intellexerunt* e. *Froþun* (= επιγνωναι 1/9) exactly renders the Greek which here means 'became aware that'. The question arises, however, whether *froþun* is not influenced by *intellexerunt* of e, where this rendering of γιγνωσκειν is characteristic (v. Soden, *L. N. T.*, p. 287). *Fraþjan* usually renders φρονειν, νοειν, συνιεναι.

L. i. 33 : see J. vi. 51, 58.

L. i. 33 : βασιλεια *þiudinassus* : see p. 42. Thus M. vi. 10, Mk. ix. 1.

L. i. 56 εμεινεν *gastoþ* : see J. viii. 31 above.

L. ii. 41 επορευοντο *wratodedun* (*gaggan* 45/50). Also L. viii. 1 for διοδευειν, and once 1 Cor. xvi. 6 = πορευεσθαι.

L. ii. 42 : see L. viii. 42.

L. ii. 43 υπεμεινεν *gastoþ* : see J. viii. 31.

L. iii. 8 ποιησατε ουν καρπους *waurkjaiþ nu akran wairþata*. ποιειν in the sense 'bring forth' = *ga)taujan* 3.0.2.1, viz. M. vii. 17, 18, 19; L. vi. 43 ; viii. 8 ; Mk. iv. 32, all of which are literal. With L. iii. 8 may be placed L. xix. 18 *skatts þeins gawaurhta* (εποιησεν) *fimf skattans*. See J. vi. 10 above.

L. iii. 9 παν ουν δενδρον μη ποιουν καρπον καλον *all nu bagme unbairandane akran god*: vg. (9 MSS.) and a ff_2^* aur: *non faciens fructum* (sine additione); +*bonum* vg. rell., b c d e f ff_2^c l q r δ. *Unbairandane* is an extraordinary gloss in two ways. Firstly, *bairan* does not render ποιειν, but φερειν, and is therefore not '*stilgemäss*' (cf. prec.). The true Wulfilian technique is exhibited in the parallel M. vii. 19 *all bagme ni taujandane akran god*. Secondly, a present participle compounded with *un-*, and taking a direct object is, to say the least, exceptional and odd. Compounds of *un-* + pres. pple., even when the verb is transitive, are intransitive, usually representing Greek adjectives. Thus *unagands*, *unfraþjands*, *ungafairinonds*, *ungahabands* (*sik*), *ungalaubjands*, *unhabands*, *unhvapnands*, *unkunnands*, *unliugands*, *unrodjands*, *unsaihvands*, *unsweibands*, *unufbrikands*, *unwitands*, *unwunands*, corresponding to the Greek αφοβως, ασυνετος, ανεπιληπτος, ανεγκλητος, ακρατης, απειθων απειθης, απιστος, μη εχων, ασβεστος, αγνοων, αψευδης, αλαλος, μη βλεπων, αδιαλειπτος, -ως, ου πανομαι, απροσκοπος, αγνοων, αδημονων. By way of exception however, there are just three passages beside the present one, where such a compound governs a direct object, viz.:

2 Tim. iii. 3 ακρατεις *ungahabandans sik* (*incontinentes*).

Rom. x. 3 αγνοουντες . . . δικαιοσυνην *unkunnandans auk gudis garaihtein.*

Skeir. iv. 5 *unkunnandans þo bi nasjand.*

The present instance is, therefore, unique in the Gospels, and may, not impossibly, derive from a marginal gloss drawing attention to the reading of vg. a ff_2^* aur. *non faciens fructum*, which can be compactly rendered by *unbairandane*. The scribe, then, instead of replacing the entire Wulfilian *ni taujandane akran god* by *unbairandane*, merely suppressed the first two words and wrote *unbairandane* in their place.

L. iii. 17 συναξει *briggiþ kaurn in bansta*; also xv. 13 συναγαγων *þrahta samana allata*, only in Luke; elsewhere συναγειν = *ga)lisan* 1.4.0.1. Cf. M. vi. 26 *nih lisand in banstins.*

L. iii. 18 ευηγγελιζετο τον λαον *piuþspilloda managein*: vg. f *evangelizabat*; *benenuntiabat* e. Thus also L. viii. 1 ευαγγελιζομενος *wailaspillonds*: vg. f *evangelizans*; *adnuntians* a c, *benenuntians* e. The Greek verb = *wailamerjan* 1.0.7.0 = 8/11, of which the above renderings are mere variants. Note, besides, L. ii. 10 *spillon*, for which see p. 175.

L. iii. 19 περι παντων ων εποιησεν πονηρων ο Ηρωδης *bi alla þoei gawaurhta ubila*, cf. also Mk. iii. 35 *saei allis waurkeiþ wiljan gudis.* In the sense 'to carry out or accomplish (an act, command, &c.); to fulfil; to do' we find *taujan* as the equivalent of ποιειν in 152/154 cases, e. g.

L. vi. 9, 33 *unþiuþ* (*þiuþ*) *taujan*, M. vii. 21 *sa taujands wiljan attins*. See above, J. vi. 10.

L. iii. 21 βαπτισθεντος *ufdaupidamma*: see above, J. xiii. 26.

L. iv. 21 λεγειν *rodjan*: see p. 125 (J. viii. 45).

L. iv. 35 and ix. 42 το δαιμονιον *sa unhulþa*; viii. 33 *þai unhulþans*. Elsewhere *unhulþo* (fem.) 4.5.11.10 = 30/33.

L. iv. 42 εξελθων επορευθη εις ερημον τοπον . . . κατειχον αυτον του μη πορευεσθαι απ' αυτων: *usgaggands* GALAIÞ *ana auþjana stad* . . . *gahabaidedun ina, ei ni* AFLIÞI *fairra im*. Πορευεσθαι = *gaggan* 45/50, *ga-*, *afleiþan* only here. (Note, *galeiþan* only three times translates ερχεσθαι viz. J. vii. 45, xiv. 23 (aorist and future), Mk. v. 38). In this passage, *galaiþ* . . . *afliþi* are not unreasonable renderings of επορευθη . . . πορευεσθαι,[1] and would avoid the sequence *usgaggands iddja* . . . *ei ni* *(*af*)*iddjedi*, which last is in any case not extant, though the plural *iddjedeina* occurs. The vg. latt. read *egressus ibat* (*exiit et abiit* e) . . . *ne discederet*. Cf. the parallel Mk. i. 35 αναστας εξηλθεν και απηλθεν εις ερημον τοπον *usstandands usiddja jah galaiþ*, where *galaiþ* (= *abiit* e) is the normal rendering of the Greek, for απερχεσθαι = *galeiþan* 9.13.12.15, *af-*, *usleiþan* 0.0.1.2 = 52/56.

L. v. 8: see M. ix. 11.

L. v. 15 *hausjon*: see J. vi. 60.

L. v. 15 οχλοι πολλοι *hiuhmans managai*. Also M. viii. 18 πολλους οχλους *managans hiuhmans* (see above); L. viii. 4 οχλου πολλου *hiumam managaim*; L. xiv. 25 οχλοι πολλοι *hiuhmans managai*. These passages furnish yet another proof of the consequentiality of aberrant renderings. Οχλος appears in C. A. as *managei* 8.15.25.32 = 80 times, and as *hiu(h)ma* 1.0.4.0 = 5 times; for the isolated (? corrupt) *iumjons* see M. viii. 1 above, p. 94.

The remarkable feature of the *hiuhma* renderings is that M. viii. 18, L. v. 15, xiv. 25, are the only passages extant in the C. A. where the Greek οχλος πολυς appears in the plural;[2] in L. viii. 4 the Gothic follows the plural of M. xiii. 2 (see p. 231). Now οχλος πολυς occurs not infrequently, and is in Gothic translated by *manageins filu* (J. vi. 2, L. vii. 11, &c.).[3] It is as though the corresponding plural *manageino filu* (cf. L. ii. 31 *allaizo manageino*) was felt to be objectionable, whilst a collocation such as *manageins managa* had to be avoided as, evidently, it has been in the corresponding singular. The use of *hiuhma*, then, seems to be a stylistic necessity where the normal rendering *managei*

[1] For the use of *galeiþan*, see above, J. vii. 45.

[2] οχλος *per se* occurs often enough.

[3] Cf. however, L. v. 29 ην οχλος τελωνων πολυς *was managei motarje mikila*.

is contra-indicated. The remaining passage, L. vi. 17, is interesting:— οχλος μαθητων αυτου, και πληθος πολυ του λαου *hiuma siponje is jah hansa mikila manageins*. Here there are at least two competitors for the Gothic *managei*, viz. οχλος and λαος, whilst πληθος is not without a claim.[1] In this case the Goth may have thought that *managei* was hardly the word to apply to the number of Christ's followers who, even if temporarily numerous, must have been limited to something less than a multitude. His translation is even so not perfect. *Hansa* only here represents πληθος; elsewhere it renders σπειρα (maniple), J. xviii. 3, 12, and Mk. xv. 16 (cohort). *Hansa* would in this passage have been a more fitting rendering of οχλος, which here refers to Christ's 'company', thus leaving *hiuhma*, quite properly, to stand for πληθος.

L. v. 26 εκστασις ελαβεν *usfilmei dissat*: see p. 176.

L. v. 36 ιματιου *snagins*; so also the parallels M. ix. 16, Mk. ii. 21: see M. ix. 16 above, and p. 238.

L. vi. 4 ελαβον *usnam*: see M. xxvii. 9 above.

L. vi. 17: see above.

L. vi. 29 παρεχε και την αλλην *galeiwei imma jah anpara*: vg. f it. *praebe. Ga)lewjan* otherwise = παραδιδοναι. M. v. 39 reads στρεψον *wandei*, which would have been quite a good rendering here for παρεχειν 'to exhibit, present, afford' (Green), for which *galewjan* seems an indifferent equivalent. The other passage in which παρεχειν occurs, L. vii. 4 αξιος εστιν ῳ παρεξει τουτο *þammei fragibis þata*, does not help us. Cf. p. 75.

L. vi. 38 μετρον . . . μετρῳ: *mitads . . . mitadjon*, usually supposed to be stylistic variants (p. 78). *Mitadjo* occurs nowhere else, the parallel reading of Mk. iv. 24 being *in þizaiei mitaþ mitiþ*. Elsewhere μετρον = *mitaþs* twice in the Gospels (L. vi. 38 and Mk. iv. 24) and seven times in the Epistles; also κορος = *mitaþs* once in Luke.

L. vi. 49 ποταμος *flodus*: elsewhere *ahva* 5 6. Here apparently a stylistic variant (p. 78). See also p. 219.

L. vii. 2 κακως εχων *siukands*, the only idiomatic rendering of this phrase. Whether this passage is vaguely reminiscent of J. iv. 46 (ησθενει) is doubtful.

L vii. 11 εις πολιν καλουμενην Ναϊν *in baurg namnida Naem*. Καλειν 'to call or name' = *haitan* 4.0.20.1 = 25/28, and *namnjan* only here and L. ix. 10 καλουμενης Βηθσαϊδαν *baurgs namnidaizos B*. Although *haitan* might seem more appropriately used with reference to persons than to places (e. g. *haitais namo is Iohannen, Iesu*, L. i. 13, 31; *sei haitada stairo* L. i. 36), and in cases such as M. xxvii. 8 *haitans warþ akrs*

[1] Λαος = *managei* 2.1.24.2 = 29/30. Πληθος = *managei* 0.0.3.2 = 5, and, once each in Luke, *hiuhma*, *hansa*.

jains akrs blopis 'was spoken of as', yet *haitan* is used with place-names in two passages, L. ii. 4 *sei haitada Beþlahaim*, L. xix. 29 *at fairgunja þatei haitada alewjo*. Perhaps both verbs, with place-names, are idiomatic, [*saei*] *haitada* being used with the relative, 'which was called, referred to as', and *namniþs* = 'bearing the name of, named'.[1]

L. vii. 12, 15, 22: (*naus* for *dauþs*) see L. ix. 60.

L. vii. 29 *βαπτισθεντες ufdaupidai*: see J. xiii. 26.

L. vii. 33, 34 *εληλυθεν γαρ Ιωαννης . . . εληλυθεν ο υιος του ανθρωπου urrann raihtis Iohannes . . . urrann sunus mans.* This is the only passage where *ερχεσθαι* (*qiman, at*)*gaggan* 221/232) is rendered by *urrinnan*, which, however, stands for *εξελθειν*, e. g. J. viii. 42 *εξηλθον και ηκω urrann jah qam*, J. xvi. 30 *fram Guda urrant*; it is said also of the springing up of seeds, the rising of the sun.[2] Here, although *urrann* cannot be said to be a precise rendering of *εληλυθεν*, there is probably an attempt to avoid the bald equivalent *qam*,[3] and rather to suggest the course of a career: 'he went through life' that is, '*processit*', rather than *venit* of vg. latt.

L. vii. 35 *εδικαιωθη η σοφια gasunjoda warþ handugei fram barnam seinaim allaim*, vg. f *iustificata est*. Now *δικαιουν* 'to hold guiltless, to justify, to pronounce or treat as righteous' (Greek), occurs in the C. A. five times else, viz. M. xi. 19 *uswaurhta gadomida warþ handugei fram barnam seinaim*, L. vii. 29 *garaihtana domidedun Guþ*; L. x. 29 *wiljands uswaurhtana sik domjan*; L. xvi. 15 *garaihtans domeiþ izwis silbans in andwairþja manne*; L. xviii. 14 *atiddja sa garaihtoza gataihans du garda. Garaihts* (*uswaurhts*)+*domjan* (*gateihan*)—possibly a term of law—as a translation of *δικαιουν* is entirely in consonance with Wulfilian technique, and one wonders whether *gasunjoda* was the reading of this passage in the original text. However this may be, we have here another of those interpretative renderings which Gothic theologians seem here and there to have substituted for the original, more literal and more conservative text. *Gasunjon* occurs only here, but *sunjon* = *απολογεισθαι* once in the Epistles (2 Cor. xii. 19), and *sunjons* = *απολογια* 2 Cor. vii. 11, Phil. i. 16, and 2 Tim. iv. 16. The idea of children passing judgement on their parent seems not to have appealed to the translator or, more probably, to the revisor, who preferred to picture them in the humanly more usual

[1] L. vi. 13, 14 *ωνομασεν* is naturally *namnida*.

[2] *εξερχεσθαι* = *usgaggan* 12.8.29 26 in concrete and literal senses, *urrinnan* 1 6 4.3 in figurative use, inclining to the sense of Lat. *procedere*, which occasionally corresponds to it in the Latin Versions.

[3] Which appropriately stands for *εληλυθει κτλ.* J. vii. 28 *af mis silbin ni qam*; J. viii. 20; xii. 23; xvii. 1 *qam weila*; J. xvi. 32 *qimiþ weila jah nu qam.*

and natural role of pleaders and apologists on behalf of their parent, and accordingly wrote *gasunjoda*. The same rendering would have applied perhaps equally well in the case of L. x. 29 and xvi. 15, especially in the former passage, which fact goes to indicate the sporadic nature of these exegetical revisions, in contrast to the homogeneous foundation of solid uniformity which is such a characteristic feature of the renderings of the Gothic Gospels. L. vii. 29 *garaihtana domidedun Guþ* is a literalism of rendering, like the R.V. justified God.[1]

L. vii. 47 αφεωνται . . . ῳ δε ολιγον αφιεται, ολιγον αγαπᾳ *afletanda frawaurhteis . . . iþ þammei leitil fraletada leitil frijoþ*. Αφιεναι 'to forgive' appears as *afletan* 7.0.6.8 = 21/24, as *fraletan* only here and xvii. 3. 4. Altogether, the Greek verb is rendered, in all senses, by *letan* 2.4.4.8, *afletan* 11.0.10.20, *biletan* 'to leave behind' (= καταλιπειν) 0.5.2.3, whilst *fraletan* occurs 0.0.4.3 = 7 times only, against *letan*, *afletan* 59 times. So far as can be observed,[2] *fraletan* is synonymous with *afletan*, which is *a priori* not unlikely in view of the subordination, in verb prefixes, of sense to function. The other four cases of *fraletan* (= to allow) occur only in negative sentences, e.g. L. viii. 51 ουκ αφηκεν *ni fralailot*. L. vii. 47 has already been treated as a stylistic variant (p. 78).

L. viii. 1 *wailaspillonds*: see L. iii. 18.

L. viii. 4 *hiumam*: see L. v. 15.

L. viii. 17 ο ου γνωθησεται *nih fulgin, þatei ni gakunnaidau*; so L. xix. 15 ινα γνῳ *ei gakunnaiddi ƕa warjizuh gawaurhtedi*. Here *gakunnan* = *ufkunnan*, which, in this sense (pp. 58 ff.), occurs 22 times; *gakunnan* (in place of *ufkunnan*) rendering επιγνωναι is found only once (see L. i. 4 above). Judging by the other renderings of γιγνωσκειν we should have expected *ufkunnan*, especially in the second passage.

L. viii. 19 παρεγενοντο *atiddjedun þan du imma aiþei jah broþrjus is jah ni mahtedun andqiþan imma faura managein*. Elsewhere the Greek verb = *qiman* 5/6; in this case, however, *atiddjedun* is quite in order, *qiman* being contra-indicated by the following context: they could not reach Him. Cf. p. 52.

[L. viii. 27 *skohsla* (marg. gloss): see M. viii. 31.]

L. viii. 33 *þai unhulþans*: see L. iv. 35.

L. viii. 33 αγελη *weriþus*. Occurs nowhere else; otherwise *hairda* 8/9, as in v. 32: hence perhaps a stylistic variant here (p. 78), unless due to the dialect of a revisor (pp. 161, 242).

[1] Luther goes one better here with: *gaben Gott recht*; the remaining four passages have (*sich*) *rechtfertigen*, which approximates to the Gothic *gasunjon*.

[2] Αφεσις = *aflet* (3) *fralet* (5) in Gospels, Epistles, and *Skeireins*.

L. viii. 42 θυγατηρ . . . ως ετων δωδεκα: *swe wintriwe twalibe*. Ετος = *jer* 12/15. In M. ix. 20 αιμορροουσα δωδεκα ετη is translated *bi þarinnandei ib. wintruns*, but the parallels L. viii. 43, Mk. v. 25, read *jera twalif*. The third variant is L. ii. 42, where Jesus is described as *twalibwintrus*.[1] L. viii. 42, 43 *wintriwe . . . jera* may be variants; cf. p. 78.

L. viii. 47 προσπεσουσα αυτῳ *qam jah atdriusandei du imma*: elsewhere *driusan du* 0.0.2.3, including the parallel Mk. v. 33 *qam jah draus du imma*.

L. viii. 50 μη φοβου *ni faurhtei, þatainei galaubei*; the identical words occur in the parallel Mk. v. 36. Cf. also L. ix. 34 εφοβηθησαν *faurhtidedun*, Mk. x. 32 εφοβουντο *faurhtai waurþun*, the last being of doubtful accuracy. Everywhere else φοβειν, φοβεισθαι = *ogan*, *ogan sis* 5·5·13·9 = 32/36. E.g. M. x. 28 φοβεισθε . . . φοβηθητε *ni ogeiþ izwis . . . ogeiþ*.

L. viii. 51 *ni fralailot*: see L. vii. 47.

L. ix. 2 ιασθαι τους ασθενουντας *allans þans unhailans*. Elsewhere *siuks* 9/10. For a full account of this important and interesting passage see pp. 216 ff.

L. ix. 4 μενετε *saljaiþ*: see J. viii. 31.

L. ix. 10 καλουμενης *namnidaizos*: see L. vii. 11.

L. ix. 34 *faurhtidedun* (*ogan* 32/36): see L. viii. 50.

L. ix. 42 *sa unhulþa* (*unhulþo* 30/33): see L. iv. 35.

L. ix. 55 στραφεις δε *gawandjands þan*. Στρεφειν and its compounds επι-, υποστρεφειν are represented, normally, by the reflexive *ga)wandjan sik* when intransitive, by *ga)wandjan* when transitive. Thus the intr. verb 'to turn round, Fr. *se retourner*' = *ga)wandjan sik* 0.0.3.0, *gawandiþs* 0.0.2.0, but *gawandjan* only here; so επιστρεφειν, in the same sense, *gawandjan sik* 1.0.2.3, also once J. xii. 40 *gawandjan* 'to be converted', υποστρεφειν 'to return, Fr. *retourner*', *gawandjan sik* 0.0.15.0, *gawandjan* only once, L. xvii. 18. The transitive verb is translated by *ga)wandjan*, e.g. στρεφειν *wandjan* M. v. 39; επιστρεφειν *gawandjan* L. i. 16, 17; viii. 55. Excluding the two instances of *gawandiþs*, all three verbs appear, when intr., as *ga)wandjan sik* 1.0.20.3 = 24/27, against *gawandjan* 0.1.2.0 = 3/27 times. In L. viii. 55 we ought perhaps to read *gawandida sik*: see p. 144.

L. ix. 56 ουκ ηλθεν ψυχας ανθρωπων απολεσαι αλλα σωσαι *ni qam saiwalom qistjan ak nasjan*. Now απολλυναι = *fraqistjan*, *-nan* 8.7.11.6 times, besides other renderings (*usqistjan*, *usqiman*, *fraliusan*). *Qistjan*, in

[1] Jesus is *twalibwintrus*, Jairus's daughter *wintriwe twalibe* = Ags. Gosp. *he wæs twelf wintre, dohtor nean twelf wintre*. M. ix. 20, L. viii. 43, Mk. v. 25 (issue) read *wintruns, jera, jera*; Ags. Gosp. *gear, ger, winter*. The words are synonymous, but *wintrus* seems the more primitive.

the present passage, is the only instance of the uncompounded verb and looks very much like a scribal lapsus; nevertheless, it may be a boldly conceived, yet effective contextual durative 'I came not to be the means of damnation; I came as one providing, for all time, a way of salvation'. Thus, in turning the Gothic back into Greek, we should have to write ουκ ηλθεν ψυχας απολλυναι (or, better, απολλυων), αλλα σωζειν (σωζων).

Still, the infin. σωσαι appears as *nasjan* L. ix. 24, xix. 10, Mk. iii. 4, and as *ganasjan* L. vi. 9, xvii. 33, Mk. viii. 35. The rendering *nasjan* in L. ix. 24 (p. 57), L. xix. 10 *qam auk sunus mans sokjan* (ζητησαι) *jah nasjan* (σωσαι) *þans fralusanans*, and Mk. iii. 4 *skuldu ist . . . saiwala nasjan aiþþau usqistjan* (σωσαι η αποκτειναι), if intentional, expresses a durative verb-action which is eloquently interpretative, if unfaithful to the original; on the other hand, we find *ganasjan* in L. xvii. 33 and Mk. viii. 35, the very parallels to L. ix. 24, whilst L. vi. 9, parallel to Mk. iii. 4, reads *saiwala ganasjan þau usqistjan*.

This lack of uniformity in the choice of verb-forms may be explained as due to

1. The vagaries of scribes (cf. pp. 47 f.).
2. The fact that the verb-action system began to break down in post-Wulfilian Gothic, esp. during the later fifth century.
3. Sporadic exegetical revisions by later hands (p. 47).

L. ix. 60 αφες τους νεκρους θαψαι τους εαυτων νεκρους *let þans daupans usfilhan seinans nawins*; similarly:

L. vii. 12 εξεκομιζετο τεθνηκως *utbaurans was naus*.

L. vii. 15 ανεκαθισεν ο νεκρος *ussat sa naus*.

L. vii. 22 νεκροι εγειρονται *naweis urreisand*.

Apart from these renderings, νεκρος = *daups* 3.3.7 8., which is also the equivalent of ο τεθνηκως in J. xi. 39, 44; xii. 1. *Daups*, therefore, is the representative of both words in 24/28 cases, a collation of which shows that 11 of these occur in the phrase εκ νεκρων α (*de, ex*) *mortuis*.[1] If there is any difference between *daups* and *naus*, we must seek it in L. vii. 12–15, where perhaps *naus* connotes 'corpse, body, cadaver' rather than 'dead man, deceased', esp. in the former passage. The same sense may, by a refinement of interpretation, apply in L. ix. 60: 'Let those who are spiritually dead bury the corpses of their fellows.'

This explanation hardly applies, however, to L. vii. 22, where *naus* has, more probably, been introduced from the preceding context.

[1] The Latin renderings in these passages are vg. f latt. *mortuus, qui mortuus erat*, &c., the only exceptions being L. vii. 12 vg. f *defunctus efferebatur*: *mortuus* a (d) e r; J. xi. 39 *soror defuncti* δ d; J. xi. 44 *qui defunctus erat* a. None of these has any bearing on the Gothic renderings.

It must be said, however, that among all the other passages where νεκρος, τεθνηκως have to be translated, there is hardly one (? J. xi. 44 εξηλθεν ο τεθνηκως *urrann sa dauþa*) where the interpretation 'corpse' would have been justified.

With reference to L. vii. 22, ix. 60 it is interesting to compare the parallels M. xi. 5 *dauþai urreisand*, M. viii. 22 *let þans dauþans filhan seinans dauþans*, which exhibit the more primitive Wulfilian technique.

L. x. 2 οπως εκβαλη εργατας *ei ussatjai waurstwjans*: vg. f *mittat*. The parallel M. ix. 38 reads *ei ussandjai*, a good rendering, of which *ussatjai* may be a corruption. It is just possible, however, to take *ussatjan* here in the sense 'to assign to their appointed places'; cf. L. xx. 9, Mk. xii. 1 εφυτευσεν *ussatida* 'planted, set out', and Lk. xvii. 6 φυτευθητι *ussatei þuk in marein*. For Mk. xii. 19 *ussatjai barna*, see p. 237.

L. x. 21, 23 στραφεις *gawandiþs*: see L. ix. 55 above.

L. xiv. 10 ενωπιον *faura þaim miþanakumbjandam*. Elsewhere = *in andwairþja* 14/15, all in Luke. In 12 of these 15 passages[1] the C. A. *in andwairþja* agrees characteristically with *in conspectu* (*ante faciem* L. i. 6, 17, 19) of the Palatinus, the exceptions being L. i. 15. xvi. 15[b] (*in andwairþja* C. A., *ante* e) and L. xiv. 10 (*faura* C. A., *coram* e [vg.]). There is every possibility that the isolated *faura* derives from the Palatinian Bilingual.

L. xiv. 10 πορευθεις αναπεσε *atgaggands anakumbei*. Πορευεσθαι = *gaggan* 45/50. The precisioning prefix is not more necessary here than elsewhere, e. g. M. xxvii. 66 *iþ eis gaggandans* (vg. *abeuntes*) *galukun þata hlaiw*.

L. xiv. 10 τοτε εσται σοι δοξα *þanuh ist þus hauhiþa faura þaim miþanakumbjandam*. Δοξα = *wulþus* 2.5.9.3, *hauheins* (thrice *hauhiþa*) 0.7.1.0. L. xiv. 10 is the only passage of ten in Luke where *hauhiþa* occurs, and a comparison of the passages in John[2], where both renderings occur, discloses a difference in sense. *Wulþus* (subjective) = glory, majesty (especially of God, Christ), German *herrlichkeit* (*Gottes*); *hauheins* (verbal noun), *hauhiþa* denote an act of praising or exalting; praise, exaltation, glorification. Thus J. xi. 40 *gasaihvis wulþu gudis*, but J. ix. 24 *gif hauhein guda*. J. xii. 43 *frijodedun auk mais hauhein mannska* (p. 44) *þau hauhein gudis* may be rendered 'for they loved

[1] The 15 passages are L. i. 6, 15, 17, 19, 75; iv. 7; v. 18, 25; viii. 47 [*deficit* e]; xiv. 10; xv. 10, 18, 21; xvi. 15 (*bis*). Cf. also v. Soden, *L. N. T.* 145, 'Für ενωπιον finden wir bei Cyprian sehr häufig das umständliche *in conspectu*; es herrscht noch fast ungebrochen in den afr. texten'.

[2] J. xi. 40; xii 41; xvii 5, 22, 24; vii. 18; viii. 50, 54; ix. 24; xi. 4; xii. 43.

the extolment of men more than the commendation of God', and in the present passage *hauhiþa* denotes mere human approbation. Three passages in Luke, however, would seem to require *hauheins* rather than *wulþus*. L. xvii. 18 *giban wulþu gudan* should read *hauhein*; in L. ii. 14; xix. 38 we may give the C. A. the benefit of the doubt. The rendering is probably suggested by the context.

L. xiv. 12 *μη φωνει ni haitais frijonds þeinans.* Προσ)φωνειν 'to call (a person); to summon by or as by calling' = *at)wopjan* 1.6.5.5 = 17. 20, whilst *haitan* represents καλειν in all senses 36/42 times. (Also προσκαλειν *aþhaitan* 13/13.) *Haitan* occurs 8 times in the immediate context (also καλειν 4 times in verses 7–9 not extant in C. A.), whence probably *ni haitais* in the present passage. Thus in v. 12 καλει *.f.* φωνει Iφ^{r1094} (Soden), and *invitare* a b e q for *vocare* vg. latt. rell. See also J. xi. 28 and Mk. iii. 31.

L. xiv. 14 ἑικαιος *uswaurhts* : *garaihts* 14 17: see p. 86 note 3. Thus also M. ix. 13 and Mk. ii. 17.

L. xiv. 18 αγρον ηγορασα *land bauhta.* Land is not elsewhere used in this sense, representing πατρις, κλιματα, χωρα. *Akrs* would have stood here: cf. M. xxvii. 7 *usbauhtedun us þaim þana akr kasjins.*

L. xiv. 25 *hiuhmans managai*: see L. v. 15.

L. xiv. 30 ηρξατο οικοδομειν *dustodida timbrjan.* Αρχεσθαι = *duginnan* 40 41. *Dustodjan* occurs only here and three times in the Epistles.[1] Note *duginnaina* in the previous verse, and that the spelling *timbrjan* occurs only here and in v. 28: otherwise *ga)timrjan, timrja.*[2]

L. xv. 24 ηρξαντο ευφραινεσθαι *dugunnun wisan.* Cf. xv. 23 *wisam waila*, xv. 29 *witwesjau*, xv. 32 *waila wisan*, and xvi. 19 *waila wisands daga wammeh bairhtaba.*

The question is to explain the absence of the word *waila* in v. 24. Streitberg[3] has maintained that *wisan* alone suffices to render ευφραινεσθαι, explaining the omission, as Gabelentz-Loebe had already suggested, on stylistic grounds, the omission being paralleled in L. xix. 6 σπευσας κατεβη *sniumjands atstaig.* He says 'Das richtungsadverb, dass im Gotischen—schwerfällig genug—die griechische präposition ersetzen muss, fehlt v. 6 offenbar nur deshalb, weil *sniumjands dalaþ atstaig* . . unmittelbar vorhergeht. Ganz ebenso wird auch L. xv. 24 die schwerfälligkeit des gehäuften *waila* mit absicht vom übersetzer vermieden worden sein.' That may be so, but I am not impressed by the obviousness of the conclusion, having regard to the numerous

[1] Superscription to 2 Cor. and 1 Tim., also 2 Cor. viii. 6.

[2] Cf. *E. B.* § 31 a.

[3] See *I. F.* xxii. 307–10. There is a similar case in L. vii. 29–30 βαπτισθεντες bis) *ufdaupidai* . . . *daupidai*; cf. J. xiii. 26, p. 100.

'schwerfälligkeiten' with which this version abounds, nor is there any necessity, as has been insisted on elsewhere, for treating the Codex Argenteus as copy fresh from the author's pen.

With regard to the meaning of *waila wisan*, Streitberg says (loc. cit., p. 309) 'Dass eine bedeutung wie "schmausen" für die verschiedenen stellen [*scil.* in Luke] . . . anzusetzen ist, lehrt die vergleichung der beiden noch übrigen stellen . . . Dort [in L.] ist die verengung des begriffs durch die lage der dinge gegeben: die freude findet einen sehr konkreten ausdruck.'

If *waila wisan*—and, according to Streitberg, *wisan*—has the meaning 'to feast, *schmausen*, *epulari*', then *waila wisan* is not a good rendering of εὐφραίνεσθαι. Yet, assuming that *waila wisan* had that meaning; whether the Greek verb had, in the fourth century, undergone an associative sense-change,[1] or whether the exegetical tradition of the time favoured such a deviative translation, or whether the contextual association proved too strong for the Goth, *waila wisan* is no worse a rendering than the Old Latin *epulari*,[2] which survived Jerome's revision, whence also the OHG. Tatian's *goumôn*, *goumen* and the Ags. Gosp. *gewistfullian*, which signify, most concretely, 'to feast.' The A.V., R.V. 'be merry, make merry' have given us, in the passage relating to the Prodigal Son, the correct sense of the Greek, but in L. xvi. 19 'fared (faring) sumptuously' the old tradition remains,[3] and the fine rendering 'living in mirth and splendour every day' (R.V.) has been relegated to the margin.

It is to be doubted, however, whether *waila wisan* really did mean 'to feast' in the sense of the Lat. *epulari*, R.V. 'fare sumptuously'. Let us examine the word-group to which *wisan* belongs. We have recorded O.Icel. *vist*, OHG. *wist* 'sustenance, food', MHG. *wist* '*aufenthalt, wohnung; lebensunterhalt, nahrung; fürsorge, pflege*' (Lexer). In OE. we find *wist* 'being; food, sustenance; feast or banquet', also *ge)wistfullian*, *gewistian*, *gewistlaecan*, 'to feast, *epulari*' secondary derivatives from the noun. In Gothic there are, besides

[1] Of such change I have found no evidence.

[2] This is the reading of all the Old Latin MSS. with the single and brilliant exception of e, which in L. xii. 19 (also c Aug); xv. 23, 24, 29, 32; xvi. 19 reads *iocundari*. Unfortunately, these passages are not extant for Cypr. or k; one would like to be certain that *iocundari* is a true African reading, although that is, *a priori*, most likely. Its non-dependence upon the Gothic is, however, made almost certain by the associations of the Gothic word-group. The Syriac rendering is *se oblectare*.

[3] Thus Wiclif *and he eet ech day schynyngli*; Tyndale *fared deliciously every daye*. The renderings of the other passages are: L. xv. 23, Wicl. *and ete we, and plenteuously ete we*; Tyn. *lett vs eate, and be mery*. L. xv. 24, Wicl. *eat plenteuously*; Tyn. *make goode cheare*. L. xv. 29, Wicl. *ete largely with my frendis*; Tyn. *make mery*. L. xv. 32. Wicl. *ete plenteuously*; Tyn. *make mery*.

waila waisan and *biwisan*, two formations: *wists* which represents φυσις in Rom. xi. 24; Eph. ii. 3; Gal. iv. 8 (ii. 15); Skeir. ii. 21, 22; iv. 16, 18, and *wizon*, *-wizns* which are represented in the following contexts:

1. *wizon*. 1 Tim. v. 6 η δε σπαταλωσα *ip so wizondei in azetjam*. Now σπαταλαν = to live riotously, cf. σπαταλος riotous, voluptuous. The Gothic *wizondei* alone is apparently not synonymous with σπαταλωσα, but rather more like διαιτωμενη, so that *wizondei in azetjam* = διαιτωμενη εν ηδοναις. *Wizon*, then, means 'to live' in the sense of *vivere* or, better, *agere*, or both; cf. (loc. cit.) *in deliciis agit* d, *in deliciis vivit* g Aug &c. *in deliciis est* vg. f (Streitberg).

2. *andawizns*. Rom. xii. 13 ταις χρειαις των αγιων κοινωνουντες, την φιλοξενιαν διωκοντες *andawiznim weihaize gamainjandans, gastigodein galaistjandans*; R.V. communicating (distributing A.V.) to the necessities of the Saints.

2 Cor. xi. 8 αλλας εκκλησιας εσυλησα λαβων οψωνιον προς την υμων διακονιαν *nimands andawizn du izwaramma andbahtja*; vg. *stipendium*: wages R.V.

Phil. iv. 16 και απαξ και δις την χρειαν μοι επεμψατε *andawizn mis insandideduþ*; *in usum* vg.; unto my need (necessity A.V.) R.V.

Andawizns here clearly = O.Icel. *vist*, OHG., MHG. *wist* 'lebensunterhalt, nahrung.'

3. *wailawizns*. Skeir. vii. 13 *jah swa managai ganohjands ins wailawiznai ni þatainei ganauhan þaurftais im fragaf, ak filaus maizo*. 'Thus satisfying them with so much good cheer' which Bernhardt translates '*tantulo satians eos victu*'. Here we are handicapped by the absence of the underlying Greek.

From the examination of the last two words, it is evident that *-wizns*, in *andawizns*, *wailawizns* = O.Icel. *vist*, OHG., MHG. *wist* 'food, sustenance'; in none of these passages does that element suggest the idea of feasting, or of eating or living luxuriously; the Greek synonyms would be τροφη, σιτια, διαιτη; χρεια, οψωνιον κτλ. Similarly *wizon* = to live, *vivere*, *agere*, διαιτασθαι.

The evidence of these three words, *wizon*, *andawizns*, *wailawizns* should at least make us hesitate to equate the simple verb *wisan* with Lat. *epulari*. The OE. *wist*, to be sure, developed the meaning 'feast', but against that there is the W. Germ. and N. Germ. *vist*, *wist*, not to mention the internal evidence of the Gothic itself. It is much more probable that *-wisan*, if it could be used in this connexion as a simple verb, meant

1. To live; *vivere*.

2. To lead (a certain course of) life; *agere*; διαιτασθαι.

3. To eat (this sense from, or reinforced by, the noun *-wizns*).

If I am right in excluding, on this evidence, the sense 'feast' from the simple verb *wisan*, it becomes extremely probable that L. xv. 24 is a corrupt reading.

I am inclined to believe that *wisan* in these passages is to be taken rather in sense 2, so that *waila wisands* in L. xvi. 19 means 'living well (in every respect); doing himself well', the pleasures of the table being included, but not specially implied except contextually. Similarly L. xv. 23 = not 'let us eat well, let us banquet', but 'let us have a good time, a jollification', thus coming very near to the Greek ευφρανθωμεν 'let us rejoice, be merry'. The same applies to the intensive *biwesjan*.

If we allow *dugunnun wisan* to stand, we must translate either 'and they began to eat', which neither Wulfila nor any one else is likely to have written, or 'and they began to feast' which, as I have tried to show, is a sense we are not entitled to assume for the simple verb *wisan*.

In this connexion may be conveniently treated another word, *frawisan*, which is of etymological interest.

Consider L. xv. 14 δαπανησαντος δε αυτου παντα *bipe þan frawas allamma*; vg. *consummasset*; latt. pler. *consumpsit*. With *frawas* in this passage compare Mk. v. 26 *fraqimandei allamma seinamma jah ni waihtai botida*; also *frawardjan* 'to destroy' from *frawairþan* 'to be destroyed, spoilt'. The possibility suggests itself that *frawisan* is formed, not from *wisan* (1) 'to be', to which Streitberg refers the verb (see *W. B.*), but from *wisan* (2) which translates ενφραινεσθαι, in which case *frawisan* would mean 'to eat up', like the Greek κατασιτειεσθαι, hence, by extension, 'to squander (by, or as by, eating); to run through', approximating to the German *verschwelgen*, Gk. καταδαπαναν.

With the Gothic *frawisan* cf. OHG. *firwesan* intr. '*vergehen*' (Braune, *AHD. Lesebuch*), MHG. *verwesen*, intr. '*vergehen*', trans. '*zu nichte machen, verderben*' (Lexer), of which Kluge says (*Etym. WB.* s.v. *verwesen*) 'So klar hiernach auch Zusammenhang mit *Wesen* (Wz. *wēs* "sein") scheint, so legen AHD. *wësanén* "trocken, faul werden", A.Nord. *visenn* "verwelkt", Angls. *weornian* "verderben" die Annahme einer Idg. Wurzel *wĭs* "verwesen" nahe, aus welcher Gr. ιος, Lat. *virus* (**visus*), Skr. *viša* "Gift" geflossen sind.'

L. xv. 25 εν αγρῳ *wasuþ-þan sunus is sa alþiza ana akra*. In the other 5 passages[1] where the fields, tilled or untilled, are referred to, in

[1] Viz. M. vi. 28, 30; L. xv. 15; xvii. 7, 31.

distinction from the house or farm, we find *haiþi*, the vg. reading in all cases *ager*.[1] In the general sense 'country' (in plur. 'country districts, hamlets') as distinct from 'town', we have *weihs* (Lat. *villa*) L. viii. 34; ix. 12; Mk. vi. 56, and *haims* Mk. v. 14; but cf. Mk. xv. 21 *Seimona K. qimandan af akra*, vg. *venientem de villa* (+*sua* k), R. V. from the country, where the Goth seems to mean 'coming from the fields (where he had been working)'. But *akra* in L. xv. 25 seems to be little different from *haiþi*, the latter meaning, perhaps, land generally, *akrs* a particular piece of land, a field.

L. xvi. 6, 7 δεξαι σου το γραμμα *nim þus bokos*, vg. *accipe*. Δεχεσθαι (παρα-, κτλ.) = *anduiman* 23/26. Here *nim* = λαμβανε, αιρει, take up. See M. xi. 14.

L. xvi. 24 και αυτος φωνησας *ufhropjands*; vg. latt. *clamans*: but *exclamans* a b d f, *exclamavit* e, ενφωνησας (= εκφ.) D. Elsewhere φωνειν = *wopjan* 17, *haitan* 3, *hrukjan* 5 times = 25 26. *Uf)hropjan* otherwise = κραζειν κτλ. . . . see p. 234 (M. xxvii. 46).

L. xvii. 3, 4 αφες . . . αφησεις *fraletais imma*: *afletan* 21 24. See L. vii. 47 above.

L. xvii. 14, 15 ιδων *gaumjands*: see M. ix. 11, p. 95.

L. xvii. 18 υποστρεψαντες *gaswandjandans* (+*sik* 15 16): see L. ix. 55.

L. xvii. 27, 28 ησθιον επινον *etun jah drugkun*. Elsewhere *maiþn* 1.0.9.8 = 18/20. Cf. χορτασθηναι *saþ itan* L. xv. 16; xvi. 21.

L. xviii. 17 ου μη εισελθη εις αυτην *ni qimiþ in izai*. See M. v. 20 and pp. 92–93.

L. xviii. 25 ευκοπωτερον *raþizo* (only here). The parallel Mk. x. 25 (M. xix. 24 deficit) reads *azetizo*, as do the three parallels M. ix. 5; L. v. 23; Mk. ii. 9; also L. xvi. 17. Thus *azetizo* 5/6.

L. xix. 2 ανηρ *guma namin . . . Zakkaius*, vg. f *vir*. Ανηρ = *wair* or *manna* 19 20 times. *Guma* occurs only here in the Gospels, and thrice more in the Epistles and Nehemiah.

L. xix. 15 γνῳ *gakunnaidedi*: see J. xii. 48; L. viii. 17.

L. xix. 24 τοις παρεστωσιν ειπεν *du þaim faurastandandam qaþ*; so παρεστηκοσιν *faurastandandam* in Mk. xiv. 69. Elsewhere παρεστ(ηκ)ως = *atstandands* 0.1.0.4, viz. J. xviii. 22 (C. A. *standands*: see L. i. 19 above); Mk. xiv. 47, 70; xv. 35, 39. *Faurastandands* occurs only once more, Rom. xii. 8 = προισταμενος.

L. xix. 46 σπηλαιον ληστων *filgrja þiuþe*; elsewhere = *waddedja* 1.3.1.3 = 8/9. *þiufs*, however, renders κλεπτης 2.3.0.0.

[1] Cf. W. Schulze, *Griech. Lehnw. im Got.*, p. 753 'Dass *haiþi*, gerade im gegensatz zur menschlichen behausung oder niederlassung, das land bezeichnet, so weit es unbewohnt ist, bestätigt auch der gebrauch der singularischen formen.'

L. xx. 10 (*bis*), 14, 16 γεωργοι, γεωργους *aurtjans*, *aurtjam*. Γεωργος = *waurstwja* 0.1.1.4, *aurtja* 0.0.4.0, that is, only in this passage. The basic, or Wulfilian rendering, as appears both from its signification [1] and its distribution, is *waurstwja* 'workman'. We have, in this passage, an attempt to improve on the literal rendering by the substitution for *waurstwja* of a word that seemed to the revisor more suitable to the context, viz. *aurtja*, the agent-noun corresponding to *aurtigards* (which is from Lat. *hortus*+*gards* [2]), and meaning 'gardener'. This alteration was effected only in verses 10, 14, and 16, verse 9 still retaining the original *waurstwja*, the scribe having failed to note that the correction applied to all the five instances, or having copied v. 9 before seeing the marginal entry. *Correctio ad finem victoriam reportat.*

L. xx. 14 αποκτεινωμεν αυτον *afslaham ina*. *Afslahan* 'to kill' is a rare word, occurring here, in Mk. xii. 5, and in Eph. ii. 16. It appears once again in Mk. xiv. 47 *afsloh* (αφειλεν) *imma auso*. Αποκτεινειν = *usqiman* 2.10.3.7, and *usqistjan* 0.0.1.2 = 25/27. *Afslahan*, in the first two passages, may be a stylistic variant; cf. L. xx. 15 *usqemun*; Mk. xii. 5 *jah jainana afslohun jah managans anparans, sumans usbliggwandans, sumanzuh þan usqimandans*. The parallel to L. xx. 14, viz. Mk. xii. 7, reads *usqimam imma*.

Usqistjan, which properly means 'destroy' (= απολεσαι), translates αποκτειναι in L. vi. 9; Mk. iii. 4; and ix. 31. In L. vi. 9 the rendering *usqistjan* exhibits the reading απολεσαι of Sin B D L X 1 69 it. pler. vg., which has influenced the parallel Mk. iii. 4 in the Latin version (vg. f latt. *perdere*) and some old Gk. MSS., including L and Soden's ε 014. Probably the Gothic rendering in Mk. iii. 4 is from the O.Lat. *perdere*, as is the *usqistjan* of L. vi. 9, if we adopt—with Streitberg—the *K-reading αποκτειναι (from Mk. iii. 4), which the isolated *occidere* of e supports as the reading of the Palatinian Bilingual. The C. A. *usqistjan* would then be for an earlier **usqiman*, after the O.Latin. *Usqistjan* in Mk. ix. 31 may be stylistic: see p. 80.

Mk. i. 4 εις αφεσιν *du aflageinai frawaurhte*. *Aflageins*, which occurs only here, is certainly a curious and untypical rendering of the Greek word, which appears as *aflet* L. i. 77, *fralet* L. iii. 3, iv. 19, Mk. iii. 29. This may be a reminiscence of 1 Pet. iii. 21 βαπτισμα, ου σαρκος αποθεσις ρυπου (pp. 231–2).

[1] Cf. *waurstw* εργον, ενεργεια; *waurstwa* εργατης; *waurstwei* εργασια; *waurstweigs* ενεργης. (See *W. B.*)

[2] Cf. F. Kluge in Paul, *Grundr.*, vol. ii, p. 14 (3rd ed.). With *aurtja* cf. *gudja*, *skattja*, *baurgja*, *waurstwja*, &c. The word suggests an unrecorded **aurtus* (*aurts*) in later Wisigothic.

Mk. i. 32 *unhulþons habandans*: see Mk. v. 15, 16, 18.

Mk. i. 32 οτε εδυ ο ηλιος *þan gasaggq sauil*; so Mk. xiii. 24 *sauil riqizeiþ*. Elsewhere *sunno* 1.0.1.2. See p. 88.

Mk. ii. 8 διαλογιζονται εν εαυτοις . . . τι ταυτα διαλογιζεσθε *milodedun sis . . . duhve miloþ þata in hairtam izwaraim*: also Mk. ix. 33 *milodeduþ*. Elsewhere we have *þagkjan* 0.0.5.3 = 8/10. Cf. διαλογισμος *mitons* 0.0.5.1. A careful collation of all the Gospel passages in which the Greek verb occurs, shows that *miton* is synonymous with *þagkjan*. The vg. latt. read, with very few exceptions, *cogitare*.

Mk. ii. 17 δικαιους *uswaurhtans*: *garaihts* 14/17: see M. ix. 13 and L. xiv. 14.

Mk. ii. 21 επι ιματιῳ *ana snagan*: elsewhere *wasti* 24/27. Thus also the parallels M. ix. 16 and L. v. 36, q.v.

Mk. iii. 14 εποιησεν *gawaurhta twalif du wisan miþ sis*. Elsewhere in this sense = *taujan*, except J. vi. 10, q.v.

Mk. iii. 31 φωνουντες αυτον *haitandona ina*. *Haitan* normally translates καλειν, thus representing the reading καλουντες of Sin B C L, &c., which ought perhaps to be adopted here. See also L. xiv. 12 and J. xi. 28.

Mk. iii. 35 ποιηση *saei allis waurkeiþ wiljan gudis*. Elsewhere *taujan*: see L. iii. 19. Cf. also M. vii. 21 *sa taujands wiljan attins meinis*.

Mk. iv. 12 ιδωσιν *gaumjaina*: see M. ix. 11.

Mk. iv. 15 τον λογον τον εσπαρμενον εν ταις καρδιαις *þata insaiano in hairtam ize*. Elsewhere always *saian* 17/18. Here the prefix is probably suggested by the context.

Mk. iv. 17 γενομενης θλιψεως *biþe qimiþ aglo*. Γιγνεσθαι = *wairþan* 146/158, i. e. wherever possible. *Wairþiþ* would have stood here, cf. the numerous instances where *wairþan* = 'to occur, arise; to spring into being; to come',[1] said of an event or phenomenon. Here possibly influenced by v. 15 *suns qimiþ* (ερχεται) *Satanas*.

Mk. iv. 33 ακουειν *hausjon*: see J. vi. 60.

Mk. iv. 35 διελθωμεν εις το περαν *usleiþam jainis stadis*, vg. f *transeamus* (*-fretemus* e) *contra*. Elsewhere = *hindar* and, in John only, *ufar*: see J. vi. 1.

Mk. v. 15, 16, 18 τον δαιμονιζομενον *þana wodan*; so v. 16 *bi þana wodan*, v. 18 *saei was wods*. Elsewhere = *daimonareis* 4.0.1.0, *unhulþons habandans* 0.1.0.1, *wods* not being otherwise instanced.

Mk. v. 25 ετη *jera*: see M. ix. 20.

Mk. v. 36 μη φοβου *ni faurhtei*: see L. viii. 50.

Mk. v. 38 ερχεται *galaiþ*: see J. vii. 45.

[1] E.g. γενομενης δε ημερας *biþeh þan warþ dags*.

Mk. vi. 1 εις την πατριδα *qam in landa seinamma*. Elsewhere *in gabaurþai* Mk. vi. 4 and the parallel L. iv. 23–4.

Mk. vi. 1 εξηλθεν εκειθεν και ηλθεν εις την πατριδα *usstoþ jainþro jah qam*. Thus also Mk. xi. 12 εξελθοντων αυτων *usstandandam im us Beþaniin gredags was*. Elsewhere we have *usgaggan* 75/101 (*urrinnan* 14, *galeiþan* 6, *atiddja* 2, *qiman*, *gaggan* 1 each). *Usstandan*, therefore, is only here instanced (pp. 93 f.). In these two passages *usgaggan* would have been a perfectly sound rendering. *Usstandan* is here probably reminiscent of collocations such as *usstandands . . . iddja* (*galaiþ*) = αναστας . . . ηλθεν κτλ. See p. 232.

Mk. vi. 10 μενετε·*saljaiþ*: see J. viii. 31 (p. 97).

Mk. vii. 11 δωρον *maiþms*, only here; elsewhere *giba* (for C. A. *tibr*, see p. 24). The word may have a special connotation in this passage: cf. OE. *máþm* treasure, &c.

Mk. ix. 1 την βασιλειαν *unte gasaihvand þiudinassu gudis qumanana in mahtai*. The usual rendering is *þiudangardi* 49/55. In M. vi. 10 *qimai þiudinassus þeins* and L. i. 33 *þiudinassaus is ni wairþiþ andeis*, there is perhaps an attempt to suggest the enduring state of God's Kingdom. See p. 42, and p. 86 note 2.

Mk. ix. 33 διελογιζεσθε *mitodeduþ*: see Mk. ii. 8.

Mk. x. 15 ου μη εισελθη *qimiþ in izai*: see M. v. 20 and pp. 92–93.

Mk. x. 21 πτωχοις *þarbam*. Elsewhere *unleþs* 13/16; *þarbs* only here and J. xii. 5, 6. Cf. p. 89 note 1.

Mk. x. 30 λαβη *andnimai* (*andniman* 8/62): see J. xii. 48.

Mk. x. 32 εφοβουντο *faurhtai waurþun* (*ogan* 32/36): see L. viii. 50.

Mk. xi. 12 εξελθοντων αυτων *usstandandam im* (2/101): see Mk. vi. 1.

Mk. xi. 14 αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτῃ *usbairands qaþ du imma*, vg. f l q *respondens*: om. a b c ff² i syr.; *maledixit dicens* k (cf. κατηρησατο λεγων I 1443 [Soden]). Elsewhere always = *andhafjan* 131/132. Whatever *usbar* here means, it is not intended to be synonymous with *andhafjan*. The difficulty of αποκριθεις in this context was evidently felt, and led to its omission altogether from the oldest 'European' texts a b, also from c ff² i and the syr.; the Ags. Gosp. follow the O.Lat. with *þa cwæð he*. The African Bobbiensis goes so far as to substitute the more plausible *maledixit* from v. 21 η συκη ην κατηρασω *þanei fraqast*, vg. *ficus cui maledixisti*.

Usbairan occurs once more, in a similar sense, in Skeir. vii. 4 *þairh þoei usbar qiþands* '*akei þata ƕa ist du swa managaim?*' which Bernhardt, having regard to the components of the Gothic word, very plausibly translates *quare exclamavit dicens*, adding in his notes 'Dasselbe bedeutet es Mk. xi. 14 wo demnach meine anmerkung zu berichtigen ist.' If,

however, this passage of the Skeireins is from Theodorus (Corderius, *Catena*, p. 174) ο Ανδρεας ομοιως τῳ Φιλιππῳ ελεγχεται μηδεν μεγα φαντασθεις, μηδεν επαξιον του διδασκαλου φρονησας, δι' ων επηγαγεν· αλλα ταυτα τι εστιν εις τοσουτους, then *usbairan* may approximate to the sense of Gk. επαγειν 'to proceed, continue; to add', and we may translate 'wherefore he added (continued) "what are these . . ."' So also in the present passage we may translate either 'And lifting up his voice He said,' or 'And continuing He said.'

Mk. xi. 17 οικος (bis) *razn mein razn bido haitada*. The Greek word is everywhere else rendered by *gards* 36 times, although οικια appears as *razn* 11 times (3.0.8.0), as *gards* 6.4.9.11 = 30 times. There is nothing to show why the two Greek words received different treatment.

Mk. xii. 5 απεκτειναν *afslohun* (*usqiman*, *-qistjan* 25/27): see L. xx. 14.

Mk. xii. 8 λαβοντες *undgreipandans ina usqemun*. The only case. Elsewhere = *niman* (47), *us-*, *and-*, *franiman*, (11) = 58/62. In v. 3 we read λαβοντες αυτον εδειραν *nimandans ina usbluggwun*. *Undgreipan* is a more forceful expression (= κρατησαι).

Mk. xii. 20 αδελφοι *broþrahans*; elsewhere *broþar* 38 times.

Mk. xii. 26 ουκ ανεγνωτε *niu gakunnaideduþ ana bokom*. Elsewhere *us*)*siggwan* 5/6 in C. A., but *anakunnan* 2/6 in the Epistles, viz. 2 Cor. iii. 2 where, however, the Goth is trying to retain the play of words in the original γινωσκομενη και αναγινωσκομενη υπο παντων ανθρωπων *kunþa jah anakunnaida fram allaim mannam*; similarly in i. 13 αλλ' η ἁ αναγινωσκετε η και επιγινωσκετε *alja þoei anakunnaiþ aiþþau jah ufkunnaiþ*.

Mk. xiii. 24 ηλιος *sauil*: see Mk. i. 32.

Mk. xiv. 49 αι γραφαι *bokos*; vg. f latt. *scripturae*. Elsewhere in this sense *gameleins* J. vii. 38, 42 (*þata*) *gamelido* 0.3.0.2, *mela* L. iv. 21, Mk. xii. 24, that is, *-mel-* (*scriptura*) 0.5.1.3 = 9/10.

Mk. xiv. 51 κρατουσιν αυτον *gripun is þai juggalaudeis*. Κρατειν is rendered by *-greipan* and *-haban* 18 times, but only here with the genitive, 'der sogenannte objektsgenitiv' (see *E.B.* § 263. 1); elsewhere with the accusative, *-greipan* 10/11, *-haban* 7/7 = 17/18.

Mk. xiv. 68, 72 αλεκτωρ εφωνησεν *hana wopida*. *-wopjan* is the usual rendering of φωνειν 'to shout or call' 1.6.5.5; only here, however, is it applied to the crowing of cocks, which is otherwise *hrukjan* (including *hanins hruk* M. xxvi. 75) 2.2.0.1 = 5/7. Here *wopjan* is a literalism; cf. v. 72 *faurþize hana hrukjai*.

Mk. xiv. 69 τοις παρεστωσιν *faurastandandam*: see L. xix. 24.

Mk. xv. 21 απ' αγρου *Seimona K. qimandan af akra*: see L. xv. 25.

Mk. xv. 37 αφεις φωνην μεγαλην *aflra letands stibna mikila*. The Greek

verb in the sense 'to forgive, *remittere*' is rendered by *afletan*, *fraletan* 7.0.9.8; in the sense 'to leave, depart from, forsake; give up, surrender' by *afletan* 4.0.4.9; 'to leave behind' = *bileiþan* 0.3.2.3; 'to allow' = *letan* 2.2.3.6, *fraletan* 0.0.1.3; pregnantly, 'to suffer to be' = *letan* 0.2.1.1.[1] In this passage *letands* can hardly stand; we should expect *afletands*, which no doubt stood in the original text, being later altered to *aftra letands* after M. xxvii. 50 παλιν κραξας φωνη μεγαλη *aftra hropjands stibnai mikilai*, the interpolated *aftra* being substituted for the prefix in *afletands*.

A glance at this list of exceptional renderings shows that in this respect also Luke exhibits the greatest amount of variation. After making due allowance for the difference in the bulk of the extant fragments of the four Gospels (see p. 83), we find the variation in Luke to be more than 60 per cent. greater than in Matthew, the difference between the other Gospels in this respect being negligible.

The exceptional renderings we have been dealing with are not, of course, equally important, whilst some are of no significance whatever. There is no reason why pairs of words like *atgaggan* and *galeiþan* should not, in certain contexts, be interchangeable, even though they are, intrinsically, not in the strictest sense synonyms. Syntactically, it seems to be immaterial whether the Goth writes *daupjan* (12/15), or *ufdaupjan* 3 times; and semantically it may matter little, so far as we know, whether he wrote *gamarzjan* 11/12, or *afmarzjan*, which occurs only once (J. xvi. 1) in C.A., and once in the Epistles. Nevertheless, we may reasonably expect complete uniformity in the case of words that are practically technical terms.

On the other hand, the isolated occurrence, in the Gospels, of *haurds* (*daur* 10/11) and *gudhus* (*alhs* 18/19) deserves more serious consideration. These unique renderings are the result of the substitution, here and there, of a word more familiar to the revisor or scribe than the reading of the traditional or Wulfilian text. It is difficult to see in *maþljan* (= λαλειν) the work of a translator who elsewhere wrote *rodjan* 78/80 times; nor is it an accident that *wraton*, *unhulþa*, *naus*, *aurtja*, *miton*, *woþs* appear where they do and nowhere else, whilst *þaruh*, &c. for και ιδου can only be ascribed to post-Wulfilian corruption of the text. How these revisional renderings came to appear most prominently in Luke will become clearer when we come to deal with the Palatinian Bilingual.

[1] Viz., J. xii. 7 αφες αυτην *let ija*; J. xiv. 18 *ni leta izwis widuwairnans*; L. xix. 44 *ni letand in þus stain ana staina*; Mk. xiv. 6, αφετε αυτην *letiþ þo*; cf. L. iv. 34 εα *let* 'let be'; iv. 41 ουκ εια αυτα λεγειν *ni lailot þos rodjan*.

It will be useful here to give a summary of the more important of the exceptional renderings, marking with an * those that occur only once in all the Gothic Bible fragments, and distinguishing with an obelus (†) such as are unique in the C. A., but are instanced in the Epistles. Wherever the Gothic word, though exceptional as a rendering of the Greek word in connexion with which it is discussed, is nevertheless found as a more or less common rendering of some other Greek word, whether in Gospels or Epistles, this fact is briefly stated, together with any other relevant information.

M. vi. 6 †*haurds*. θυρα = *daur* 10/11. (*Haurds* 4 times in Fp. Neh.)

M. viii. 1 **managein* (? error). Elsewhere *managei* 80/80, *hiuhma* 5.

M. viii. 31 †*skôhsl* = δαιμων. Elsewhere δαιμων = *unhulþo*, *-ja* once each. Cf. δαιμονιον = *unhulþo* 32/35, *-ja* 3/35. [*skôhsl* occurs Marg. L. viii. 27 and twice in the Epistles].

M. xi. 13 †*fauraqiþan*. Elsewhere *praufjan* translates προφητευειν 5/6; otherwise *fauraqiþan* = προλεγειν 6 in the Epistles.

J. vi. 12 *drauhsnos* (hence Sk. vii. 24). κλασμα = *gabruka* 5/6, but cf. ψιχια = *drauhsnos* L. xvi. 21; Mk. vii. 28.

J. vi. 34 †*framtwigis*: παντοτε = *sinteino* 7/8 (Epist. once).

J. vi. 35 †*þaggjan* (Fp. once). Otherwise πειναν *gredags* (*gredan* &c.) in C. A.

J. viii. 41 †*tauni*: εργων = *taurstai* 10/20 in C. A. *Tauni* 5 times in Fp. rendering ενεργεια, ποιημα, πραγμα, πραξις.

J. viii. 51, 52 **aiwa dage*: an isolated construction.

J. x. 16 †*attwêpi*: ποιμνη = *hairda* L. ii. 8; αγελη = *hairda* 8/8.

J. xiv. 30 **maiþjan*: λαλειν = *rodjan* 78/80. Cf. *maiþjan* λαλια J. viii. 43.

J. xvi. 1 †*afmarzjan* (*gamarzjan* 11/12). Also 2 Cor. xi. 29.

J. xviii. 20 **gudhûs* (*-hûs* 18/19). The only Gothic representative of Eng. *house*, for which Goth. has *gards*, *rasn*.

L. vi. 20 *gabeidjan* = μακαριος. Elsewhere renders μακαριζειν.

L. vi. 38 **mitadjis*: otherwise *mitaþs* in Gospels (2), and Epistles (7).

L. vi. 49 **flôdus*: ποταμος = *ahva* 5/6.

L. vii. 35 †*gasunjon* exceptionally renders δικαιουν.

L. viii. 33 **wripus*: αγελη = *hairda* 8/9.

L. ix. 2 *unhulo*: ασθενειαν = *siukô* 9/10. See, however, pp. 216 ff.

L. ix. 56 **giftjan*: perhaps error for *fraqiþjan*: see above.

L. x. 2 *ussatjan*: see ad loc., p. 109.

L. xiv. 10 *faura*: ενωπιον = *in andwairþja* 14/15. Cf. Col. i. 22 *faura* (ἐνώπιον) κατενωπιον αυτου.

L. xiv. 18 *land*: not otherwise used in this sense.

L. xiv. 30 **dustodjan*: αρχειν = *duginnan* 40/41. *Dustodjan* occurs 3 times in the Epistles.
L. xvi. 6, 7 *niman*: elsewhere δεχεσθαι = *andniman* 20/21.
L. xviii. 25 **raþizo*: *azetizo* 5/6.
L. xix. 2 †*guma*: ανηρ = *wair, manna* 19/20.
L. xix. 46 *þiufs*: λῃστης = *waidedja* 8/9. *þiufs* = κλεπτης 5/6.
Mk. i. 4 **aflageins*: possibly reminiscent.
Mk. iv. 35 *jainis stadis* (εις το περαν).
Mk. vii. 11 **maiþms*: elsewhere *giba*. See p. 24.
Mk. xi. 14 †*usbairan*: αποκρινειν = *andhafjan* 131/132.

The absolutely απαξ λεγομενα are not numerous. They are:
M.: *iumjons*.
J.: *maþljan, gudhus* [*aiwa dage*].
L.: *miładjo, flodus, wriþus, raþizo* (*qistjan*).
Mk.: *aflageins, maiþms*.

The following are of interest as being found also in the Epistles, though unique in the Gospels:—
M.: *haurds, skohsl, fauraqiþan*.
J.: *framwigis, huggrjan, taui, aweþi, afmarzjan*.
L.: *gasunjon, guma, dustodjan*.
Mk.: *usbairan*.

We will conclude with a list of some exceptional renderings that occur more than once, but are confined to one Gospel.
M. ix. 2, 3, 18; xxvii. 31 *þaruh, þanuh. jah þan* (και ιδου = *jah sai*).
J. vi. 1, 17; x. 40; xviii. 1 *ufar*. Περαν elsewhere = *hindar*, &c.
L. ii. 41; viii. 1 *wraton*. Only here and 1 Cor. xvi. 6.
L. iii. 17; xv. 13 *briggan* (*in, samana*). Συναγειν = *galisan*.
L. iii. 18; viii. 1 *þiuþ-, wailaspillon*. Ευαγγελιζεσθαι = *wailamerjan*.
L. iv. 35; viii. 33; ix. 42 *unhulþa*. Elsewhere *unhulþo* 4.5.11.10.
L. vii. 11; ix. 10 *namnjan*. Καλειν = *haitan* 25/28.
L. vii. 33, 34 *urrinnan*. Only here = ερχεσθαι.
L. vii. 47; xvii. 3, 4 *fraletan*. Αφιεναι = *afletan* 21/24.
L. vii. 12, 15, 22; ix. 60 *naus*. Νεκρος = *daubs* 24/28.
L. xx. 10, 14, 16 *aurtja*. Γεωργος = *waurstwja* 0.1.1.4.
Mk. i. 32; xiii. 24 *sauil*. Elsewhere *sunno* 4/6.
Mk. ii. 8; ix. 33 *milon*. Διαλογιζεσθαι = *þagkjan* 0.0.5.3 = 8 '10.
Mk. v. 15, 16, 18 *wops*. Elsewhere *daimonareis*, &c.

VIII

RENDERINGS ILLUSTRATIVE OF AN INFERIOR LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT.

Sunt quidem loca, ubi minus accurate convertisse videtur . . . Huc ea pertinent loca, ubi interior linguae graecae cognitio ei defuit, sic Joh. viii. 25 *την αρχην* male convertit . . . (Gabel.-Loebe, *Proleg.* xxvi).

In the previous chapter we discussed a number of renderings that were sufficiently rare and deviative to merit attention, although their exceptional character was not usually assignable to any particular cause. They were, speaking generally, exceptional, and nothing more. In the present chapter we have collected such renderings as seem to us definitely indifferent, if not inaccurate; for, generally excellent though the renderings of the Gothic Gospel translation may be, there yet remains a residuum of aberrant renderings which do not come up to the high level of achievement usual with the Gothic translator. We need not assume that all these inferior renderings go back to the original translation;[1] a number of them may be due to the various accidents of a text-critical, text-historical, or palaeographical nature to which the Gothic text has, from time to time, been exposed,[2] without it now being possible for us to demonstrate such to have been the case. We have included a few renderings (e. g. M. ix. 30; xxvii. 10, which cannot definitely be said to be censurable; they are, perhaps, not more than sufficiently odd to challenge attention, and might just as well have been dealt with in the foregoing chapter. In such cases we must remain content to allow the two chapters to this extent to overlap; a clear division was in the nature of the case impossible.

M. v. 26 *εσχατον minnistan*: see p. 228.

M. v. 29, 30 *βληθη εις γεενναν gadriusai in gaiainnan*, vg. *mittatur . . . eat*; *mittatur* (bis) f. Βαλλειν 'to throw' = (*at-, fra-*) *wairþan* 12/20; in the sense 'to cast (into the fire, into prison)' = *ga-*, (*at-*)*lagjan* 5/20; *gadriusan* only here. In any case *gadriusan*, as a rendering of *βληθηναι*, is free to the point of error. If the scribe is responsible, *gadriusai* may

[1] e. g., Odefey (among others) in dealing with a number of errors, consistently charges Wulfila with having 'misread' or 'misunderstood' the Greek text: see pp. 83–4 op. cit., and *passim*.

[2] See Chapters xiii–xvii, *passim*.

represent an otherwise unrecorded **gadrusnai* (= *gadrausjaidau*). Cf. the rendering of L. x. 15 εως αδου καταβιβασθησῃ, which appears as *und halja gadrausjaza*. The parallel M. xi. 23 reads (*dalaþ und halj*)*a galeiþis*, for which reason Streitberg adopts the Lucan reading καταβησῃ of B D it. vg. I should prefer to read καταβιβασθησῃ with *K, and explain *galeiþis* as an accommodation to the O.Lat. *descendes*.

M. ix. 30 ενεβριμησατο αυτοις *inagida ins*, vg. f it. *comminatus*. The parallel Mk. i. 43 reads εμβριμησαμενος *galvotjands*. *Inagjan* 'to strike fear into' seems rather forcible: cf. *afagjan* = πτυρεσθαι, σαινεσθαι in the Epistles, also *usagidai* = εκφοβοι in Mk. ix. 6.

M. x. 29 ουχι δυο στρουθια ασσαριου πωλειται *bugjanda*; vg. *asse veneunt*. *Bugjan* elsewhere translates αγοραζειν, just as πωλειν otherwise = *frabugjan* 0.0.3.2. *Bugjanda* means 'are bought', which is not the same thing as 'are sold', although the practical result is the same. Perhaps we ought to read *frabugjanda*. Cf. πιπρασκειν = *frabugjan* 0.1.0.1.

M. xxvii. 1 συμβουλιον ελαβον *runa nemun*, vg. f *consilium*. The Cod. Ambros. C reads *garuni*, which represents the Greek word again in M. xxvii. 7, Mk. iii. 6, and xv. 1. *Runa* = μυστηριον twice in the Gospels and 12 times in the Ep. In L. vii. 30 βουλην του θεου is translated *runa gudis* (*consilium dei* vg. f, Ags. Gosp. *gepeaht*), where *runa* seems more appropriate than the compound, the latter suggesting collectiveness of counsel. Perhaps we ought to read *garuni* in the present passage, as in v. 7.

M. xxvii. 1, 3, 6, 12 αρχιερεις *gudjans*: see chap. xiii, § 1.

M. xxvii. 4 τι προς ημας; συ οψῃ *ƕa kara unsis? þu witeis*, vg. *quid ad nos? tu videris*. Streitberg accepts this *witeis*, without comment, as the 2nd pers sing. opt. of *wait* (*E.B.* § 220. 1). But we greatly doubt whether *witeis* could render οψῃ, even in this phrase; Bernhardt's attempt to explain it as = '*das mögest du wissen*' fails to convince. *Witeis* is much more probably a simple error for *witais* (opt. present), or *witai* (imperat.), from *witan* which translates ασφαλιζεσθαι, παρα)τηρειν, φυλασσειν, *þu witais* therefore would mean 'guard thou against the consequences', that is, 'see to that yourself'. Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 15 ὁν και συ φυλασσου *þammei jah þu witai*, 'of whom be thou ware also' (R. V.).

M. xxvii. 10 καθα συνεταξεν μοι κυριος *swaswe anabauþ mis frauja* vg. *sicut constituit mihi dom.*; *praecepit* f; appointed A. V. R. V., *gesette* Ags. Gosp. *Anabauþ* is not the traditional rendering (which would be represented by *gasatida*), but was no doubt suggested by the following κυριος. *Praecepit* in f is after the Gothic.

M. xxvii. 52 πολλα σωματα των κεκοιμημενων αγιων *þize ligandane weihaize*, vg. f *qui dormierant* (Ags. Gosp. *þe ær slepon*). This blunder is emphati-

cally not attributable to the translator, but derives from a revision with a Greek MS. which exhibited, or was misread by the revisor as exhibiting, the erroneous reading κειμενων: see p. 225.

M. xxvii. 58 εκελευσεν *uslaubida*: see p. 229.

M. xxvii. 66 ησφαλισαντο *galukun*: see p. 234.

J. vi. 27 εργαζεσθε μη την βρωσιν την απολλυμενην *waurkjaiþ ni þana mat þana fralusanan*, vg. f *qui perit*. The verb *fraqistjan* represents the active απολλυναι in both its senses, viz. 'to destroy' (7 times) and 'to lose' (13 times). The former sense of απολλυναι is also represented by *usqistjan* (5) and *usqiman* (once):[1] see p. 115 (L. xx. 14). The middle απολλυσθαι 'to perish' appears as *fraqistnan* 12 times, with one exception, J. xviii. 14, for which see below. The remaining 9 instances of the Greek verb are translated by *fraliusan*, namely here and in L. xv. 4 (*bis*), 6, 8, 9 (lost sheep, penny), L. xv. 24, 32 (he was lost, and is found), and L. xix. 10 (to save that which was lost). In the passages from L. xv. the verb means 'to lose, with the prospect of recovery', in the sense of classical Lat. *amittere* as distinct from *perdere*. The text of L. xix. 10 is open to both interpretations, as is shown by the different versions.[2]

In the present passage the past participle *þana fralusanan* is not a good rendering of την απολλυμενην, for which we should have expected *saei fraqistniþ*, or, more literally, *þana fraqistnandan*. Perhaps we may see here the influence of L. xix. 10 *sokjan jah nasjan þans fralusanans* (το απολωλος), where *fralusanans* is not out of place. For Mk. iii. 6 see p. 232.

J. viii. 26 ταυτα λαλω εις τον κοσμον *þata rodja in þamma fairhvau* vg. latt. *in mundo*: *saeculum* e (ut semper); (*du*) *manasedai* would have been better in this passage, whilst in J. xvii. 13 ταυτα λαλω εν τῳ κοσμῳ *rodja in manasedai* one might have expected *in fairhvau*: see pp. 41 f.

J. viii. 41 εκ πορνειας ου γεγεννημεθα *us horinassau ni sijum gabauranai*. The correct word to translate πορνεια would seem to be *kalkinassus*, to judge by the passage in M. v. 32 παρεκτος λογου πορνειας, ποιει αυτην μοιχασθαι *inuh fairina kalkinassaus*, *taujiþ þo horinon*; cf. also Gal. v. 19 μοιχεια, πορνεια *horinassus*, *kalkinassus*, 1 Thess. iv. 3 πορνειας *kalkinassaus*, L. xv. 30 μετα πορνων *miþ kalkjom*. On the other hand, μοιχευειν, μοιχασθαι = *horinon* 3.0.2.3, whilst μοιχαλις = *horinondei* Mk. viii. 38, and μοιχος = *hors* L. xviii. 11. In the present passage, *horinassau* is

[1] Viz. L. xix. 47; xx. 16; Mk. iii. 6; ix. 22; xi. 18; xii. 9.

[2] Cf. Lindisfarne Gosp. *þte losade .t. losad wæs*; Rushw. idem.; Ags. Gosp. *þæt forweard*; Wiclif *that perischede*; Tyndale *that which was looste* (thus R.V.); Luther *das verloren ist*.

loosely used, whilst in Mk. vii. 21 μοιχειαι, πορνειαι *kalkinassjus*, *horinassjus*, the Gothic words have inadvertantly been copied in the reverse order by the scribe.

J. viii. 45 οτι την αληθειαν λεγω *þatei sunja rodida*. Among the words of most frequent occurrence are λεγειν, ειπειν, and λαλειν, and since these three exhibit almost perfect uniformity of rendering, being represented by *qiþan* 504/508, *qiþan* 426/430, and *rodjan* 78/80, it will be convenient to treat the few cases where *rodjan* appears for *qiþan*, and vice versa, under one article.

A. Λεγειν = *rodjan* 4/508, viz. in the present passage, L. iv. 21 ηρξατο δε λεγειν προς αυτους *dugann þan rodjan du im*, vg. latt. *dicere*; L. vii. 24 ηρξατο λεγειν *dugann rodjan*, vg. latt. *coepit dicere*; L. xx. 21 ορθως λεγεις *raihtaba rodeis*, vg. latt. *recte dicis*; *loqueris* f after the Gothic.

In J. viii. 45 we see the contextual influence of v. 44 λαλῃ . . . λαλει *rodeiþ* (bis) [cf. λαλω D, *loquor* d e, *locutus sum* f]; in L. vii. 24 the intrusion, from v. 15, of ηρξατο λαλειν *dugann rodjan* (see p. 236). For the rendering of L. iv. 21 and xx. 21 I cannot account; in the former perhaps *dugann* suggested that continuity of conversation which is best expressed by *rodjan*.

B. Ειπειν = *rodjan* only once, viz. L. vii. 39 ειπεν εν εαυτῳ λεγων *rodida sis ains qiþands*, vg. f ff² *ait*; *dixit* a c e. This may be a stylistic avoidance of the literal *qaþ sis ains qiþands*.

C. Λαλειν = *qiþan* only once, J. xvi. 18 ελεγον ουν τουτο τι εστιν ὃ λεγει το μικρον; ουκ οιδαμεν τι λαλει *qeþunuh: þata hva sijai þatei qiþiþ: leitil, ni witum hva qiþiþ*, vg. f latt. *quid loquitur; dicit* d, *-cat* r, *-xit* a. This is evidently a contextual contact: see p. 234.

This Greek verb is once represented by *maþljan*: see p. 100. Of the three verbs Green, *Gram. Gk. Test.*, p. 375, says:—'Λαλεω is simply to *speak*, to employ the organ of utterance; λεγω is referred to the *sentiment* of what is spoken . . . ειπον to the *words*.' It is certain that the Gothic *rodjan* was rigidly distinguished from *qiþan*, the latter translating λεγειν and ειπειν, the former representing λαλειν, and, of the six instances we have just examined where this rigid rule has been broken, three have certainly been accounted for.

Had Ant. Beer troubled to examine the renderings of these three verbs in Gothic, he would not have written (*PBB.* xliii. 457) 'Ohne erkennbaren unterschied werden *dugann qiþan* und *dugann rodjan* abwechselnd gebraucht: M. xi. 7 *dugann Iesus qiþan* (λεγειν), desgl. L. iii. 8; vii. 49; xx. 9; Mk. x. 28, 32, 47; xii. 1; xiv. 69; L. iv. 21 *dugann þan rodjan*, . . . desgl. L. vii. 15, 24.' In the first nine passages *qiþan* is obligatory, but *rodjan* is correct only in L. vii. 15, where it = λαλειν, whilst in L. iv. 21,

vii. 24 *rodjan* (translating λεγειν) is an erroneous rendering probably not attributable to the original translator.

Beer continues 'Die ersteren fälle liess Grünwald[1] gänzlich unberücksichtigt. von den letzteren behauptet er, dass "Wulfila das gefühl für die feinheiten des gotischen nicht verlor", da *dugann rodjan* "dem unbeeinflussten gotisch. sprachgebrauch gemäss war", während in *dugann qiþan* "eine ziemliche härte läge" (s. 4–5). Hätte Wulfilas sprachgefühl unter der üblichen und häufiger belegten ausdrucksweise *dugann qiþan* wirklich gelitten, was hinderte ihn — so muss man fragen — anstatt *dugann qiþan* überall *dugann rodjan* einzusetzen?'

Of course, Grünwald's effort to explain the less common *dugann rodjan* is completely misguided, yet it is only one illustration of the attitude of a number of critics towards the Gothic Bible-text: every word has to be justified and held up as an example of Wulfila's transcendent and unerring skill, even where the text is manifestly corrupt, or betrays the tamperings of later hands.

J. ix. 16 σχισμα ην *missaqiss warþ*: see pp. 229–30.

J. x. 36 υμεις λεγετε οτι βλασφημεις, οτι ειπον· υιος του θεου ειμι *jus qiþiþ þatei wajamerjau, unte qaþ: sunus gudis im.* The same attraction to the following verbs is exhibited in c *blasphemo*; but the Chrysostomian reading βλασφημω cited by Streitberg (*G.B.* ad loc. and *E.B.* § 356) is not recorded in the apparatus of either Tischendorf or von Soden.

J. xi. 12 σωθησεται *hails wairþiþ*, vg. f latt. *si dormit salvus erit.* Elsewhere *ga)nasjan, -nisan* 35 36. We should have expected *ganisiþ*. *Hails* is used to render υγης, υγιαινων, ισχυων, and *hailjan* = θεραπευειν, ιασθαι, so that *hails wairþiþ* is not strictly accurate, although we find the same rendering in R.V. he will recover, Luther *so wird es besser mit ihm*. *A propos* of this passage Kauffmann (*ZfdPh.* xlix. 21, note 1) says '*nasjands* bedeutet also etwas ganz anderes als *hailjands* . . . nur ein einziges mal wird *hails wairþiþ* für σωθησεται gebraucht und in diesem fall (J. xi. 12) bedeutet die formel "gesund werden" im ärztlichen sinn.' Nevertheless such a rendering is contrary to the Wulfilian norm: the woman with the issue (M. ix. 21) might have said '*haila wairþa*' (σωθησομαι), but the C. A. reads *ganisa*; cf. L. viii. 50 *ganasjáda*.

J. xi. 16 συμμαθηταις *gahlaiþam*: see p. 149.

J. xi. 39 οζει *fuls ist*, vg. *fetet*: *faht* f, *putet* E d, *pudit* p. *Fuls* does not seem the right word here, since it connotes rottenness in Germanic. We should have expected **stigkan*, although this word was not necessarily extant in 4th cent. Gothic, not being recorded in ON.

[1] Fr. Grünwald, *Zur Got. Synonymik: Die Verba Dicendi* (Karolinenthal 1909–10, 1911–12).

either. In that case *fuls wisan* may have had to do duty for both 'to stink' and 'to be rotten, putrid'. In this connexion Kauffmann (*ZfdPh.* xlviii. 166, note 5) asserts that 'das verbum "stinken" war von vornherein ausgeschlossen; für gr. ηδη οζει wurde darum "*ja fuls ist*" gewählt. . . .' But even if *fuls* was a matter of choice, which is not certain, the W.Germ. *stinkan* has not the special application which to-day makes the word objectionable in polite use, and in our opinion *fuls* was just as 'horrid' a word to use here. Perhaps the Gothic *fuls* is after the O.Lat. *putet*, which survives in only three MSS., among which d is significant. *Putere* &c. also connotes putridity rather than bad odour (*fetere*).

J. xi. 44 εξηλθεν ο τεθνηκως δεδεμενος τας χειρας και τους ποδας κειριαις, και η οψις αυτου σουδαριῳ περιεδεδετο *urrann sa daupa gabundans handuns jah fotuns faskjam, jah wlits is auraljа bibundans.* As it stands, the text is anacoluthic; perhaps *was* has fallen out after *bibundans*.

J. xii. 11 πολλοι δι' αυτον υπηγον των Ιουδαιων και επιστευον *managai in þis garunnun Iudaiei*, vg. latt. *abibant ex Iud.*; *ibant* a c d e; *conveniebant* f. Here υπαγειν = 'to go slowly away, draw off; to withdraw, retire' (L. & S.), for which we might reasonably have expected *galeiþan, afleiþan*. *Garunnun* may, idiomatically, have meant 'ran away, deserted', though it must be borne in mind that in L. v. 15 it represents συνηρχοντο (*conveniebant*), similarly in Mk. xiv. 53, whilst in Mk. i. 33 we have η πολις ολη επισυνηγμενη ην προς την θυραν *garunnana was at doura*. Perhaps Bernhardt is right in taking the word in this sense: see his note ad loc. '*garunnun* . . . nämlich zu Jesus nach Bethania', and the Brixian *conveniebant*, after the Gothic, lends support to the view that this was how the Goth understood the passage. See pp. 195 f.

J. xii. 24 αυτος μονος μενει *silbo ainata aflifniþ*, vg. *manet*; *remanet* f; *manebit* a e l. Μενειν is translated by *wisan* 23/32 times (p. 97); only here by *aflifnan*, which elsewhere = περιλειπεσθαι (1 Thess. iv. 17), περισσευσαι. *Aflifniþ* here seems to mean 'is left behind', to which somewhat bold interpretation the contextual μονος may have contributed.

J. xii. 40 ιασωμαι αυτους *ganasidedjau ins*, vg. f *sanem*; so also L. iv. 18 ιασασθαι *du ganasjan*, L. vi. 19 ιατο *ganasida*. The ordinary rendering of ιασθαι, to heal, is *gahailjan, -nan* 2.0.7.1 = 10/14, whilst σωζειν, to save, is as regularly rendered by *ganisan, ga)nasjan* 4.3.15.13 = 35/36 (cf. J. xi. 12 above). The reason for the encroachment of *nasja* in these passages in not apparent; perhaps the two words tended to overlap in careless use. The fourth instance, L. xvii. 15 ιαθη *hrains warþ*, owes its aberrant rendering to the previous verse εκαθαρισθησαν

gahrainidai waurþun; so εκαθαρισθη D min.; *mundatus est* vg. b f l: but *sanatus* c ff² i δ; *sanus* a q; *curatus* e s.

J. xv. 16 ιια υμεις υπαγητε και καρπον φερητε *ei jus sniwaiþ jah akran bairaiþ*, vg. *ut eatis*: omit. f. The general sense of *-sniwan* is 'to hurry'.[1] Elsewhere υπαγειν (υπαγε) = *gaggan* 6.17.3.10 and *galeiþan* 0.4.1.0 = 41/43 (the other exception is *garunnun* J. xii. 11). *Sniwan* is free to the point of inaccuracy.

J. xv. 18 γινωσκετε οτι εμε πρωτον υμων μεμισηκεν *kunneiþ ei* &c., vg. *scitote*. Here *kunneiþ*, = Fr. *connaissez*, is decidedly incorrect; the sense requires *witeiþ* = *sachez*; i. e. Ger. '*wisset*' (thus Luther) not '*kennt*'. Cf. L. x. 11 πλην τουτο γινωσκετε οτι κτλ. *swepauh þata witeiþ þatei*. See also the article on γιγνωσκειν, pp. 58 ff.

J. xvi. 18 τι λαλει *ƕa qiþiþ*: see J. viii. 45 above.

J. xvii. 19 ινα ωσιν και αυτοι ηγιασμενοι *ei sijaina jah eis weihai*. A better rendering would have been *gaweihnodai* (= vg. latt. *sanctificati*). The contextual αγιασον αυτους *weihai ins* (v. 17) may have affected this passage.

J. xvii. 23 ινα γινωσκη *ei kunnei*: see p. 60.

J. xviii. 14 συμφερει ενα ανθρωπον απολεσθαι υπερ του λαου *batizo ist ainana mannan fraqistjan faur managein*, vg. f latt. *expedit unum hominem mori*. Elsewhere the middle απολλυσθαι 'to perish' is rendered 12 times by the passive *fraqistnan* (see above J. vi. 27), which we do not doubt originally stood in this passage, the Gothic here clearly following the accusative and infinitive construction. This being unidiomatic in Gothic after impersonal phrases, the original *fraqistnan* was clumsily altered by a later hand to *fraqistjan*, which, however, requires the dative case, the only exception being L. xvii. 27. Cf. *E.B.* § 317.

J. xix. 4 ινα γνωτε *ei witeiþ*: see p. 60.

L. i. 1 αναταξασθαι διηγησιν *meljan insaht*, vg. f *ordinare* (*disponere* e) *narrationem*. *Meljan* is a rather loose rendering of αναταξασθαι, which occurs only here in the N. T.

L. i. 5 εξ εφημεριας Αβια *us afar Abijins*, vg. f *de vice*.

L. i. 8 εν τη ταξει της εφημεριας αυτου *in weikon kunjis seinis*, vg. f *in ordine vicis suae*.

These two passages constitute a somewhat trying puzzle. It looks as though the translators had not hit upon the happiest rendering for the Greek word, and this is the general opinion: 'εφημερια also ward von dem übersetzer misverstanden' (Bernhardt); 'falsch übersetzt durch *in weikon kunjis seinis*' (Streitberg, *W.B.*, s.v. *kuni*). Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that Wulfila did not know what the Greek word

[1] See *W.B. ga`sniwan, duatsniwan, bisniwan*; *ga`sniumjan, sniumundo*.

meant; and if he did not, then all the more reason why he should inquire of those who knew better. The very difficulty of this technical term would challenge inquiry and lead to its complete elucidation.

I believe that the Greek word was quite well understood, and that *kuni* is the rendering that the translator chose. It is not, perhaps, the most accurate term he could have selected, but we must have regard to the difficulty of the word to be translated. The R. V. *course*, vg. latt *vicem*, Luther *ordnung*, are none of them perfect renderings, the R. V. least of all.

The Gothic *kuni* translates γενος, γενεα, συγγενεια, γεννηματα, and, L. ii. 26; Phil. iii. 5, φυλη. The Gothic word connotes a classification based upon birth or nationality, and has here been applied to a classification according to office or function. There seems nothing unreasonable in this, although, if one may make so bold, some word such as **dagakuni* might have been better.

If, then, we accept *kuni* as an inadequate, though not erroneous rendering, there remains to be explained *afar* in v. 5. I do not believe that *us afar*[1] is another way of saying *us kunja*. Technical terms of this kind are not varied from verse to verse as ordinary words seem occasionally to have been. *Afar* looks like the result of an attempt at an etymologizing improvement on *kunja*, which was the original and correct reading of v. 5, the revisor, corrector, or scribe suggesting that *us kunja* be altered to *us afarkunja*, simulating the Greek εφ(ημερια); *afar* being by the next scribe taken to be a substitution for, instead of an addition to, the original *kunja*, thus giving us the reading of C. A.

L. i. 17 προελευσεται ενωπιον αυτου *fauraqimid in andwairþja is*, vg. f *praecedet ante illum*, *prodiet* e. The sense of this passage requires *fauragaggiþ*, as in L. i. 76 *fauragaggis auk* (προπορευση γαρ) *faura andwairþja fraujins*. The perfective *fauraqimiþ* may have been suggested by the ancient reading προσελευσεται (B*CLV al. aliq.). Cf. R. V. shall go before His face. [Marginal note: Some ancient authorities read *come nigh before his face.*]

L. i. 28 χαιρε, κεχαριτωμενη *fagino, anstai audahafta*, vg. f latt. *gratia plena*: *have gratificata* e. For χαιρε we have *hails* (*þiudans Iudaiê*) in J. xix. 3; Mk. xv. 18 (*þiudan*), whilst *faginon* represents the verb in the sense of 'rejoice'. In this passage *fagino* need not be taken as

[1] Peters (*Gotische Conjecturen*, Leitmeritz, 1879, pp. 3 f.) proposes to read *afaram*. dat. pl. of **afara* 'descendant'.

a literalism of translation; an alternative explanation is the natural desire to avoid the secular associations of *hails*.[1]

Anstai audahafta has been explained as a stylistic effort, or as an alliterative flower of speech;[2] I believe it to be a conflation. The Greek χαρις (*gratia*) = *ansts* 4/4 in Luke, whilst *audags* (10/10), *audagei*, *audagjan* represent μακαριος, μακαρισμος, μακαριζειν. *Anstai audahafta* is thus neither accurate nor 'stilgemäss'. We might have expected a rendering such as *anstais fulla*, as in L. xvi. 20 ηλκωμενος *banjo fulls*, or **anstihafta*, or **gaanstida* (cf. *gratificata* e). *Audahafta*, which would correctly represent μακαριζομενη = *beatificata*, may have been a revised rendering influenced by the text of vv. 45, 48 μακαρια *audaga*, μακαριουσιν *audagjand*, intended to replace the Wulfilian reading. If the latter was *anstais fulla*, it is easy to see how the conflation *anstai audahafta* arose, the first word being made grammatically congruent. It is more difficult to see how **anstihafta* (or **gaanstida*) could have yielded the C. A. reading; but then the Wulfilian rendering might have given way, at any time in the history of the Gothic Gospel text, even so late as the Brixian Bilingual (see the section on *Wulþres*, chap. xv, § 4), to the Old Lat. *gratia plena*, and from that progressed to the present conflation. The intrusion of *auda*(*hafta*) from vv. 45, 48 presents no difficulty, since such assimilation to the context is amply evidenced: see chap. xvii, § 2.

L. i. 63 αιτησας πινακιδιον *sokjands spilda*. Here *sokjands* has been influenced by the Palatinian *petit*, the latter being misinterpreted: see pp. 174–5.

L. ii. 7 ουκ ην αυτοις τοπος εν τῳ καταλυματι *ni was im rumis in stada þamma*, vg. f *non erat eis locus in diversorio: stabulo* e.

Now τοπος = *staþs* 23/24; in every case but two it means 'a place'; it signifies 'room, space' only here and in L. xiv. 22 where, however, it is rendered by *staþs*: ετι τοπος εστιν *nauh stads ist*. *Rumis* occurs only in the present passage but is, *prima facie*, a reasonable rendering, and cannot be called in question since it represents one of the only two instances of this sense of τοπος.

For εν καταλυματι we should expect *in saliþwom*; cf. Mk. xiv. 14

[1] Cf. the well-known epigram from the Anthologia Latina, which appears thus in Baehren's *Poetae Latini Minores* (Teubner), iv. 363:

Inter 'eils' goticum 'scapia matzia ia drincan'
Non audet quisquam dignos educere versus;
Calliope madido trepidat se iungere Baccho,
Ne pedibus non stet ebria musa suis.

For a discussion of the Gothic words in the first line, see Massmann, *Gothica Minora* (*ZfdA.* i, pp. 294–393), pp. 379 ff.

[2] See Kauffmann, *ZfdPh.* xlviii. 39 note 3; also Odefey, p. 66.

καταλυμα *saliþwos*, J. xiv. 2, 23 μοναι, μονην *saliþwos* (so also ξενια Philem. 22); cf. also μενειν, καταλυειν (L. ix. 12) *saljan*.

We may seek the solution in *stabulo* of e, assuming this word, misunderstood in the Palatinian Bilingual, to have been paralleled by the etymologizing rendering *staþa*. It is thus that Odefey explains the Gothic (p. 134), though somewhat diffidently, accounting for the position of *þamma* by supposing that the latinizing gloss *staþa*, intended to replace the original rendering, was copied into the wrong place. This may very possibly be the true explanation, since we have yet other instances of a Latin reading being misunderstood and affecting the Gothic text.[1] There is yet another solution, to which also *þamma* furnishes the clue. As representing the article τῳ, it is unnecessary, and its position is anomalous; the text, as it stands, = εν τῳ τοπῳ τουτῳ; the common phrase τον τοπον, τῳ τοπῳ, appears regularly as *þana staþ*, *þamma stada* (cf. J. vi. 10, 23; x. 40; xi. 30; xviii. 2; L. xix. 5).

If, as is not unlikely, the original rendering was *ni was im stadis* [*? rumis*] *in saliþwom*, the present text may be nothing more than a scribal error, *saliþwom* being misread as *staþa þamma*. This would also account for the exceptional *rumis*; if the earlier text read *ni was im stadis in saliþwom*, becoming *stadis in stada þamma;* we can understand the subsequent alteration of *stadis* to *rumis*.

L. ii. 25 προσδεχομενος παρακλησιν του Ισραηλ *beidands laþonais Israelis*, vg. f *consolationem*; *exhortationem* a, *praecē* (*? praecem*. Soden reads *praeconem*) e. Also:—

L. ii. 38 τοις προσδεχομενοις λυτρωσιν Ιερουσαλημ *usbeidandam laþon*, vg. f e *redemptionem*. Now παρακλησις, *consolatio*, is correctly translated by *gaþlaihts* L. vi. 24, and 8 times in the Epistles, and by *gaþrafsteins*, in Phil. ii. 1. *Laþons* occurs in the C. A. only here, whilst in the Epistles it correctly renders κλησις (which occurs only there) 8 times. In L. ii. 25 it is an unaccountable blunder, hardly likely to have come down, uncorrected, from the first translation. It may be an etymologizing alteration, emphasizing the second element of the Greek word; or the result of a comparison with some Greek MS. that read, or was mistakenly held to read, κλησις (cf. p. 225). The reading of e is curious. May we read *praecem*=*vocationem* (κλησιν)=*laþonais*? From L. ii. 25 the reading *laþons* evidently crept into v. 38 (see p. 235),

[1] The Latin *stabulo* of e is a good rendering: cf. vg. latt. *stabulum* L. x. 34, unfortunately wanting in C. A., rendering πανδοχειον. Καταλυμα = *hospitium* k Mk. xiv. 14; e L. xxii. 11; *stabulum* e L. ii. 7; vg. *refectio* Mk. xiv. 14; otherwise *diversorium* (see H. von Soden, *L.N.T.*, p. 332 note 7).

where we should have expected *uslauseins*, as in L. i. 68 *gawaurhta uslausein* (λυτρωσιν) *managein seinai.*

L. iii. 14 αρκεισθε τοις οψωνιοις υμων *waldaiþ annom izwaraim*, vg. latt. f *contenti estote*. *Waldaiþ* is an atrocious literalism, which one would ascribe to the ignorance of pedantic revisors rather than to the original translators. The marginal *ganohidai sijaiþ* may well have been a restoration of the original text (cf. Phil. iv. 11 αυταρκης ειναι *ganohiþs wiasn*, vg. *sufficiens esse*, R. V. to be content), in spite of its resemblance to the Latin.

L. iii. 23 αρχομενος *uf gakunþai*: see p. 141.

L. iv. 18 ιασασθαι *du ganasjan*: see J. xii. 40.

L. iv. 21 λεγειν *rodjan*: see J. viii. 45.

L. iv. 29 εξεβαλον αυτον εξω της πολεως και ηγαγον αυτον . . . *uskusun imma ut us baurg jah brahtedun ina* . . . vg. f *eiecerunt*; *expulerunt* e. We should here expect the straightforward rendering *uswairpan* (23), or *usdreiban* (10), which represent the Greek verb 33/37 times. *Uskiusan* elsewhere translates απο)δοκιμαζειν, and is a bad rendering here.

L. v. 3 ηρωτησεν αυτον απο της γης επαναγαγειν ολιγον *haihait ina aftuhan fairra staþa leitil*, vg. *rogavit*; *iussit* f; *desideravit ab eo* e. Elsewhere ερωταν 'ask'=*bidjan* 14/15. The reading of f is after the Gothic. See pp. 61, 237 (Mk. x. 17).

L. v. 26 παραδοξα *wulþaga*: see p. 177.

L. vi. 17 πληθος πολυ του λαου *hansa mikila manageins*: see p. 103.

L. vi. 19 ιατο *ganasida*: see J. xii. 40.

L. vi. 44 ουδε εκ βατου τρυγωσι σταφιλην *trudanda weinabasja*. See p. 226. For the passive, see p. 177.

L. vii. 24 λεγειν *rodjan*: see J. viii. 45 above.

L. vii. 25 εν τοις βασιλειοις *in þiudangardjom*, vg. f *in domibus regum*; *domo regis* e. *Þiudangardi* elsewhere occurs only in the singular, and translates βασιλεία (47 times). Although it cannot be shown that *Þiudangardi* did not have also the meaning 'king's palace' = τὰ βασίλεια (απαξ λεγ. in N. T.), the rendering is justly suspect: cf. the following.

L. vii. 25 οι εν ιματισμῳ ενδοξῳ και τρυφῃ υπαρχοντες *þai in wastjom wulþagaim jah fodeinai wisandans*, vg. f *qui in veste pretiosa sunt et deliciis*; *in vestimentis gloriosis et aepulatione agent* d. This may be one of those cases where the Greek MS. with which the Gothic text was more recently revised (see chap. xvi, § 4, esp. pp. 225 f.)—I think it better not to blame the Vorlage[1]—was read as, or actually read, τροφῃ.

[1] Cf. Bernhardt ad loc. 'Offenbar war in der griech. vorlage τροφῃ für τρυφῃ verschrieben'. Streitberg, more cautious, 'verwechslung von τρυφῃ mit τροφῃ'.

Nevertheless the agreement, with the Gothic, of the Latin text of the Codex Bezae is very striking. It is interesting to note, in particular, the correspondence of *agent* with *wisandans*, which correctly translates *υπαρχοντες* and signifies, not 'being', but 'living, subsisting, *διαιτωμενοι*' (not so in L. xvi. 14, 23), in which connexion cf. p. 113.

L. vii. 32 *εν αγορᾳ in garunsai*, vg. latt. *in foro*. In the only other passage in which *garuns* appears it translates Gk. *ρυμη vicus*, street, which occurs once more in L. xiv. 21 *πλατειας και ρυμας gatwons jah staigos*. *Garuns* is, *prima facie*, a good rendering of the Greek *ρυμη*, but less certainly so as the representative of *αγορα*, which seems to be correctly translated (Mk. vii. 4) by *maþl*, which occurs nowhere else. The parallel M. xi. 16 is not extant in C. A., which is badly damaged at this point; nevertheless Streitberg has, following the previous editions, restored *in garunsim* from L. vii. 32 which is, in the circumstances, very uncertain. The present passage is not supported by Mk. vi. 56 *εν ταις αγοραις ana gagga*, since here the Gothic certainly derives from the Old Latin vg. *in plateis*; cf. also *πλατειαις*, the reading of D and two others (133 93 Soden).

L. vii. 39 *ειπεν rodida*: see J. viii. 45.

L. viii. 14: see p. 143.

L. viii. 20 *ιδειν σε θελοντες gasaihvan þuk gairnjandona*, vg. f *volentes*: *quaerentes* d. The Greek verb = *wiljan* 61/62. *Gairnjan* expresses a more urgent desire, and renders *επιθυμειν* (and, corruptly, *χρειαν εχειν*) in the Gospels; also *επιποθειν*, *ορεγεσθαι* in the Epistles. See Mk. xi. 3 below, and p. 180.

L. viii. 25 *ανεμοις επιτασσει windam faurbiudiþ*, vg. latt. *imperat*. The verb *-τασσειν* (*επι-*, *δια-*, *προσ-*, *συν-*), 'to command' = *anabiudan* 13/15. *Faurbiudan* otherwise = *επιτιμαν* (*ινα μη*), *παραγγελειν* (*ινα μη*). The thought seems to be 'He commands the winds (not to)', perhaps under the influence of the preceding verse *gasok* (*επετιμησεν*) *winda*, *increpavit ventum*. The rendering is not strictly correct. See p. 236.

L. viii. 45 *οι οχλοι συνεχουσιν σε και αποθλιβουσιν bihvairband þuk jah breihand*, vg. *comprimunt et affligunt*; *circumdant et conprimunt* f. The Greek verb here means 'to press upon, hem in'. *Bihvairban* does not otherwise occur, but *hvairban* (once) = *περιπατειν*, and *hvarbon* (7 times) = *περιπατειν*, *παραγειν*. *Bihvairban* may have been the best rendering available, but hardly seems the *mot juste*, and gives the impression of being inferior to the Latin *comprimunt*. From the Gothic derives the Brixian *circumdant*, which gives a pointer to the meaning of the Gothic word.

L. ix. 13 αγορασωμεν εις παντα τον λαον τουτον βρωματα *bugjaima allai þizai manaseidai* [marg. gloss *managein*] *matins*, vg. f *turbam*; *populum* a d e. Λαος = *managei* 29/30, whilst *manaseþs* always represents κοσμος. Cf. L. ix. 25.

L. ix. 22 αρχιερεων *gudjam*: see chap. xiii, § 1.

L. ix. 25 κερδησας τον κοσμον ολον *þo manased alla*, vg. f *mundum*. *Fairhu* seems preferable here: see pp. 41 f.

L. ix. 26 και *aiþþau*: see p. 236.

L. ix. 31 ανδρες δυο συνελαλουν αυτῳ, οἵτινες ησαν Μωσης και Ηλιας, οἱ οφθεντες εν δοξῃ ελεγον την εξοδον αυτου ἣν εμελλεν πληρουν *wairos twai miþrodidedun imma, þaiei wesun Moses jah Helias; þai gasaihvanans in wulþau qeþun urruns is, þoei skulda usfulljan*; vg. *visi in majestate; qui visi sunt in gloria* f; *visi in gloria* e. The usual comment on *þai gasaihvanans* is that the translator mistook οἱ for the definite article, yet there seems no reason for blaming the translator for this somewhat elementary blunder; it may just as well have been some subsequent revisor who was not so well acquainted with Greek as Wulfila was. Nor is this necessarily an error of translation. What more natural than that the *þaiei* which we should expect to find here, has simply been miscopied as *þai*? Or we may take the view that the present reading was a deliberate attempt—somewhat of a liberty, to be sure—to break up the three successive relatives, as though placing a semicolon after Helias, and continuing with ουτοι οφθεντες . . . ελεγον. Most probably, however, we have to do with a scribal error. In connexion with this passage, see p. 143 (L. viii. 14).

L. ix. 42 ερρηξεν αυτον *gabrak ina*, vg. f *elisit illum*: *conlisit* e. The interpretation of the Greek verb here and in Mk. ix. 18 (see p. 181) has proved of some difficulty. The C. A. in the latter passage has an improved rendering *gawairpiþ ina* (ρησσει): cf. Gk. ρηξαι 'to knock down (as boxers)' (L. & S.). The R. V. uniformly has dashed (dasheth) him down [marg. rent (rendeth) him], whilst the A. V. hesitates between L. ix. 42 threw him down, and Mk. ix. 18 teareth him [marg. dasheth].

L. x. 10 πλατειας *fauradaurja*: see p. 179.

L. xiv. 15 των συνανακειμενων *þizei anakumbjandane*; cf. v. 10 *miþanakumbjandam*. Although the repetition of *miþ-* was not, perhaps, essential, its omission is unusual, and more likely to be a scribal error: see p. 93.

L. xiv. 18 εξελθειν *galeiþan*: see Mk. ii. 13 below.

L. xiv. 18 και ηρξαντο απο μιας παραιτεισθαι παντες *jah dugunnun suns faurqiþan allai*, vg. f *coeperunt simul omnes excusare: omnes simul*

a c ff² l r; *ab una* d; *singuli* e m. *Suns* properly represents ευθυς, ευθεως, παραχρημα. It is not certain how this plausible error arose.

L. xvi. 11 το αληθινον τις υμιν πιστευσει *þata sunjeino þas izwis galaubeiþ*, vg. *quis credet vobis*; R. V. who will commit to your trust. The Greek verb is uniformly translated by *galaubjan* 3.60.6.11 = 80/80 times. Here, however, *galaubjan* is of very doubtful accuracy; a better rendering would have been *gatrauan*: cf. Gal. ii. 7 πεπιστευμαι το ευαγγελιον της ακροβυστιας *gatrauaida was mis aiwaggeljo faurafilljis*, R. V. I had been intrusted with. The Latin *credere* is used in both senses (1) to entrust or confide (something) to a person; (2) to believe (a person); we cannot say whether the misunderstanding of the Old Latin is responsible for the alteration of an older reading, or whether *galaubeiþ* represents an original literalism which the Latin merely helped to preserve. Note the order of f *quis vobis credet*.

L. xvii. 15 ιαθη *hrains warþ*: see J. xii. 40.

L. xviii. 34 και αυτοι ουδεν τουτων συνηκαν . . . και ουκ εγινωσκον τα λεγομενα *ni waihtai þis froþun . . . ni wissedun þo qiþanona*, vg. *intellexerunt . . . intellegebant*. For the vg. *intellegebant quae dicebantur*, e reads *non cognoscebant eum*. The correct rendering would have been *kunþedun* see pp. 58 ff.); *wissedun* is certainly wrong, having regard to the clear distinction elsewhere maintained between *witan* and *kunnan*.

L. xviii. 43 και παραχρημα ανεβλεψεν και ηκολουθει αυτω δοξαζων τον θεον. και πας ο λαος ιδων εδωκεν αινον τω θεω. *Jah suns ussaiw jah laistida ina awiliudonds guda. jah alla managei gasaihwandei gaf hazein guda*. Δοξαζειν elsewhere = *hauhjan* (23), *mikiljan* (6), *gaswerjan* (3) = 32/33). *Awiliudon*, 'to give thanks', represents ευχαριστειν 6/6 times (cf. L. xviii. 11 *guþ, awiliudo þus*); thus in the Epistles, where also χαρις, ευχαριστια = *awiliuþ*. *Hazeins, hazjan* regularly represents επ)αινος, επ)αινειν praise. Here *awiliudonds guda*, which properly represents ευχαριστων τω θεω, is probably reminiscent.

L. xix. 10 σωσαι το απολωλος *nasjan þans fralusanans*, vg. latt. *quod perierat* (*quod perit* s, *perditum* a); 'that which was lost' R. V. For a similar personal construction, cf. J. xv. 19 *swesans* (το ιδιον) *frijodedi*, L. i. 35 το γεννωμενον αγιον *saei gabairada weihs* (i. e. Christ). The Goth has, nevertheless, taken a liberty with his text.

L. xix. 31 χρειαν εχει *gairneiþ*: see Mk. xi. 3 below, and pp. 180, 239.

L. xix. 43 χαρακα *grabai* vg. f latt. *vallo; fossam* e. The Greek word means a palisade or mound: see pp. 31, 180, 185.

L. xx. 9 απεδημησεν χρονους ικανους *aflaiþ jera ganoha*, vg. *multis temporibus; temp. mult.* a d e l; *annis multis* f. Elsewhere *mel* (8), *weila*

(3) = 11/12 (cf. L. viii. 27 εκ χρονων ικανων *mela lagga*). The collocation *jera ganoha* occurs only here, whence the Brixian *annis*.

L. xx. 21 λεγεις *rodeis*: see J. viii. 45 above.

Mk. ii. 13 εξηλθεν παλιν παρα την θαλασσαν *galaiþ aftra faur marein*, vg. latt. *egressus est*; so also Mk. iii. 6 και εξελθοντες οι Φαρισ. *jah gaggandans þan Fareisaieis*, vg. f *exeuntes* Mk. xiv. 68 και εξηλθεν εξω εις το προαυλιον *jah galaiþ faur gard* vg. latt. *exiit foras ante atrium*. With these may be considered L. xiv. 18 εχω αναγκην εξελθειν *þarf galeiþan jah saihvan þata*, vg. latt. *exire* Εξερχεσθαι appears as *usgaggan* 75, *urrinnan* 14 = 89/101 times, whilst, of the remaining 12 instances, only these 4 passages leave untranslated, by prefix or directive adverb, the Greek prefix. *Galeiþan* is a fair rendering in L. xiv. 18 and Mk. ii. 13; but Mk. iii. 6 should certainly read *usgaggandans*, whilst Mk. xiv. 68, leaving untranslated both prefix and adverb, is probably corrupt also: see below.

Mk. ii. 26 *gudjam*: see chapter xiii, § 1.

Mk. iii. 6 εξελθοντες *gaggandans*: see Mk. ii. 13 above.

Mk. iii. 10 οσοι ειχον μαστιγας *wundufnjos*: see p. 181.

Mk. iv. 13 ουκ οιδατε την παραβολην ταυτην, και πως πασας τας παραβολας γνωσεσθε *ni wituþ þo gajukon, jah hwaiwa alles þos gajukons kunneiþ?* The compound *ufkunneiþ* seems preferable here, not only because the perfective verb more naturally represents the future, but also because the sense is rather 'will get to know, will learn'. See pp. 58 ff.

Mk. iv. 24 προστεθησεται υμιν τοις ακουουσιν *biaukada izwis þaim galaubjandam*; the last two words are omitted in Sin B D C L . . . it. (exc. f q) vg. It is difficult to account for the corruption of the Gothic text, except as a plain scribal error; for *gahausjandam* and *galaubjandam* are easily confusible to eye and ear, differing in only two letters, of which at least H and Λ are easily confounded. The reading *credentibus* of f shows that the corruption goes back to the Brixian Bilingual. Streitberg suggests reminiscence of M. xxi. 22 πιστευοντες ληψεσθε.

Mk. v. 4 δια το . . . διεσπασθαι υπ' αυτου τας αλυσεις *unte . . . galausida af sis þos naudibandjos*, vg. f *disrupisset; dissipasset* e. *Galausjan* seems rather a tame rendering. See pp. 152 ff.

Mk. v. 5 κατακοπτων εαυτον λιθοις *bliggwands sik stainam*, vg. f *concidens se*. *Us)bliggwan* elsewhere translates δερειν, μαστιγουν, φραγελλουν, and is not a competent rendering of κατακοπτειν, which occurs nowhere else in the N. T. The verb *sniþan* seems to be preoccupied, rendering θεριζειν and θυσαι.

Mk. v. 14 αγρους *haimom*: see pp. 113–14, 232.

Mk. vii. 10 θανατῳ τελευτατω *dauþau afdauþjaidau*, vg. f *morte moriatur*. *Afdauþjaidau* = 'let him be put to death', a vigorous rendering that oversteps the limit of strict accuracy. The Greek requires nothing stronger than *gadauþnai* 'let him die'. *Afdauþjan* translates θανατουν in Mk. xiv. 55; M. xxvii. 1 and twice in the Epistles.

Mk. vii. 21 *kalkinassjus*, *horinassjus*: see J. viii. 41 above.

Mk. vii. 32 φερουσιν αυτῳ κωφον μογιλαλον *berun du imma*, vg. *adducunt*, *offerunt* a f, *adferunt* ff²; Ags. Gosp. *lædon*. Similarly Mk. viii. 22 φερουσιν αυτῳ τυφλον *berun*, vg. *adducunt*, *obtulerunt* f, *adferunt* ff² k, *offerunt* a; Ags. Gosp. *brohtun*; Mk. ix. 19 φερετε αυτον προς με *bairiþ*, vg. f *afferte*; Ags. Gosp. *bringað*. *Bairan* seems in these passages to be used in a very loose way, for the distinction between *bairan* '*portare*' and *briggan* '*adducere*' is elsewhere well observed in the Gothic Gospels. *Bairan* represents βασταζειν, φερειν, φορειν, whilst *briggan* stands for αγειν, αναγειν, επαναγειν, απαγειν; also for φερειν, εισ-, εκ-, απο-φερειν L. xv. 23; Mk. vi. 27; ix. 17, 20; M. vi. 13; L. xvi. 22; Mk. xv. 1; L. xv. 22; and for κομιζειν L. vii. 37, where the use of *bairan* is contra-indicated, or where the Greek verb is equally well, if not better, represented by *briggan*.

In Mk. i. 32, *berun* (εφερον) *du imma allans þans ubil habandans* the use of *berun* is perhaps justified, but there is no need to 'carry' a blind man (viii. 22), whilst in the passage referring to the son with a dumb spirit (Mk. ix. 17, 19, 20), we find *bairiþ* (v. 19) sandwiched between *brahta sunu meinana* and *jah brahtedun ina at imma*. L. xv. 23 reads *jah bringandans* (ενεγκαντες) *stiur þana alidan*: *bairandans* would have been ridiculous.

Mk. viii. 38 εν τῃ γενεᾳ ταυτῃ τῃ μοιχαλιδι *in gabaurþai þizai*, vg. f *generatione* (*natione* k). The Greek noun = *kuni* 7/9; cf. L. ix. 41 *o kuni ungalaubjando jah inwindo*. It is possible that *gabaurþs*, the general sense of which is 'birth'[1] is here used dyslogistically.

Mk. ix. 19: see Mk. vii. 32.

Mk. x. 6 αρσεν και θηλυ επυιησεν αυτους *gumein jah qinein gatawida guþ*. If we understand the Greek in the sense 'created, fashioned', then the better rendering would seem to be *gawaurhta*;[2] on the other hand, *gumein jah qinein* may be taken as a factitive complement, in which case *gataujan* is the usual construction, thus, 'caused them to be male and female'.

[1] *Gabaurþs* = γενεσις, γενετη, γενεσια, γενος, πατρις.

[2] E.g. to prepare clay (J. ix. 6), a feast (J. xii. 2), a fire (J. xviii. 18), the redemption (L. i. 68), three tabernacles (L. ix. 33). See, in this connexion, p. 96 (J. vi. 10).

Mk. x. 24 τους πεποιθοτας επι χρημασιν *þaim hugjandam afar faihau*, vg. f *confidentes*. Bernhardt attempts to justify this rendering (see his note ad loc.), but as it stands the Gothic can mean only 'who have their minds on riches', 'who hanker after', which makes excellent sense, but not the right sense. A correct rendering would have been *þaim trauandan in* (? *du*) *faihau*; cf. M. xxvii. 43 πεποιθεν επι τον θεον *trauaida du guda*, 2 Cor. ii. 3 πεποιθως επι παντας *gatrauands in allaim*, 2 Thess. iii. 4 *gatrauam in fraujin*.

Mk. xi. 3 ο κυριος αυτου χρειαν εχει *frauja þis gairneiþ*, vg. f k *necessarius est*. The same words occur L. xix. 31 (p. 180), the two passages having apparently been levelled out (see p. 239). Χρειαν εχειν = *þaurban*, &c., 13/15. *Gairnjan* is not a precise equivalent, representing, as it does, επιποθειν (Epist.), επιθυμειν (Gosp. and Ep.), ορεγεσθαι (Ep.), and θελειν (L. viii. 20).

Mk. xi. 23 γινεται *gagaggiþ*: see pp. 146–7.

Mk. xi. 24 αιτεισθε *sokeiþ*: see pp. 80, 174–5 (L. i. 63).

Mk. xii. 19 εξαναστηση σπερμα *ussaljai barna*: see p. 237.

Mk. xiv. 15 αναγαιον μεγα εστρωμενον ετοιμον *kelikn mikilala, gastrawiþ, manwjata*, vg. *cenaculum grande stratum* (+*paratum* f). *Kelikn* appears twice elsewhere, representing πυργος in L. xiv. 28 and Mk. xii. 1. Αναγαιον,[1] which occurs in the N. T. only here and in L. xxii. 12, appears to have given trouble to others, as well as to the Goth, whose rendering is preferable to *locum medianum stratum in superioribus, magnum* of Codex a.

In the Codex Bobbiensis[2] we find *subpedaneumsterraneum*, which the first corrector improved to *sub*[*terraneum*]*sterraneum*; the original reading may have been *superterraneum* (Wordsworth) or *superaneum* (Turner).

Mk. xiv. 68 εξηλθεν εξω εις το προαυλιον *galaiþ faur gard*. cf. vg. f *exiit foras* (*foris* f) *ante atrium; exivit in exteriorem atri locum* k. For εξηλθεν εξω we might have expected *galaiþ ut*, or *usiddja ut*. Bernhardt justifies the passage, adding 'wahrscheinlich fehlte ein wort für προαυλιον.' But the Goth has given ample proof of his ability to help himself in such cases. It looks as though the text were corrupt; the sentence might well have been rendered *galaiþ* (*usiddja*) *ut in* **fauragardi*: cf. *fauradauri, faurafilli*.

Mk. xiv. 71 αναθεματιζειν *afaikan*: see p. 238.

Mk. xv. 21 αγγαρευουσιν *undgripun*: see p. 233.

[1] Αναγαιον (ανωγαιον), 'strictly any thing above ground: a raised building, the upper floor of a house: also a dining room, like Lat. *coenaculum*' (L. & S.).

[2] Hans v. Soden, *L.N.T.*, ad loc.

IX

MISCONSTRUED PASSAGES

It happens occasionally that the Greek text, owing to some inherent ambiguity or syntactical difficulty, has been misconstrued. It is not necessary to credit all these misunderstandings to the original translator. Some, at any rate, may with reasonable certainty be said to have arisen immediately through the Old Latin version as, e. g. J. vi. 23, whilst in other instances accommodation to the Latin text is at least a possibility. L. viii. 14 may be nothing more than a contextual contact, and in L. v. 36 the Gothic text is paralleled by similar variant readings in the Greek. That does not, however, rule out the possibility that the Goth has, independently of these external parallels, misconstrued the Greek, since the same difficulty would be experienced both by scribes and readers of the Greek text, and by the translators of the Latin and Gothic Versions.

M. ix. 16 αιρει γαρ το πληρωμα αυτου απο του ιματιου *unte afnimiþ fullon af þamma snagin*, vg. a c f k *tollit enim plenitudinem* (*fortitudinem* c). The nominative πληρωμα has been construed as an accusative, επιβλημα being taken as the subject of αιρει, and similarly in the parallel Mk. ii. 21. The Goth may have been influenced by the Latin, but this is merely a possibility: the misconstruction is so much more plausible than the correct construe, as is seen from its general adoption in the Old Latin and Vulgate. The omission of αυτου (with Sin*) may be after the parallel Mk. ii. 21 (thus Streitberg ad loc.), but would very naturally result from the altered construction.

J. vi. 23 εγγυς του τοπου υπου εφαγον τον αρτον, ευχαριστησαντος του κυριου *nehwa þamma stada þarei matidedun hlaif ana þammei awiliudoda frauja*, vg. *gratias agente domino: quem benedixit dom.* f r; *quem benedixerat* b ff² l q (om. a d e). Now *ana þammei awiliudoda frauja* does not correctly translate the Greek genitive absolute; but the words constitute a fair rendering of the Old Lat. *quem benedixit* (*-erat*) *dominus*, the words *ana þammei* representing *quem*. *Awiliudoda* is here absolute, the passage meaning 'in respect of which the Lord gave thanks'. From the *W.B.* it will be seen that ευχαριστειν υπερ (περι) τινος was

variously rendered as *awiliudon faur* (+acc.), *fram* (+dat.), *in* (+gen.), in the Epistles. The Gothic *ana* occurs elsewhere in the sense 'in respect of', &c.; e.g. in M. xxvii. 7 εις ταφην τοις ξενοις vg. f *in* (*ad* f) *sepulturam peregrinorum*, which the Goth translates *du usfilhan* (? read *du usfilha*) *ana gastim*, i.e. taking *ana* closely with *gastim*, and not, as Streitberg (see *W.B.*), with *du usfilhan*: *us*)*filhan* governs the accusative case, not the dative (see L. ix. 59; M. viii. 22; *Skeir.* ii. 2). With the use of *ana* in the phrase *ana þammei* = 'in respect of which, for which (wherefore)', cf. 2 Cor. v. 4 εφ' ῳ ου θελομεν *ana þammei ni wileima*, vg. *eo quod nolumus* 'in that (for the reason that) we would not', and 2 Cor. vii. 13 εχαρημεν επι τῃ χαρᾳ Τιτου *ana faihedai Teitaus*, vg. *super gaudium*, 'for the joy of'. If, then, we take the words *ana þammei* closely with *hlaif*, we translate 'the bread for which the Lord gave thanks', after the Latin *quem benedixit*; if we read a comma after *hlaif* and take *ana þammei* less closely with this word, the passage reads 'where they ate the bread: for which reason (wherefore) the Lord gave thanks'.

A correct version of the Greek would have been *miþþanei awiliudoda frauja*.

J. xiii. 29 η τοις πτωχοις ινα τι δῳ *aiþþau þaim unledam ei ƕa gibau*, vg. latt. *daret*. This is a very bad blunder, for which it is not easy to account. The aorist subj. δῳ—which is, with the exception of D δοι, constant in Greek MSS.—requires a past subjunctive *gebi*,[1] whereas the text reads *gibau*, which is the 1st pers. sing. of the pres. subj. It looks as though some revisor[2] had mistaken the Greek verb for the 1st pers. singular. On the other hand, the corruption may be most simply explained as a homoioteleutic error induced by the preceding *aiþþau*. *Gibau* is, in any case, nonsense.

L. ii. 40 το δε παιδιον ηυξανεν και εκραταιουτο πνευματι πληρουμενον σοφιᾳ *iþ þata barn wohs jah swinþnoda ahmins fullnands jah handugeins*; vg. *crescebat et confortabatur plenus sapientia; cresc. et conf. spiritu et inplebatur sapientia* f; *corroborabatur adcrescebat et inplebatur sapientia* e, and *confortabatur et crescebat* b c ff², with D εκραταιουτο και ηυξανεν.

The addition +*spiritu* (from L. i. 80) appears only in f q δ aur, cf. +πνευματι ΑΧΓΔΑΠ κτλ.; om. SinBDL latt. vg. The Greek should be rendered *þata barn wohs jah swinþnoda ahmin, fullnands handugeins*; in the text of C. A. the word *ahmin* has been attracted

[1] See *E.B.* §§ 353, 358, and cf. L. xx. 10 ινα . . . δωσιν αυτῳ ει . . . *gebeina imma*.
[2] Or the '*Übersetzer*', although it is not easy to understand why so gross a blunder should have survived a century and a half.

to *fullnands*, necessitating the change to *ahmins* and the addition of *jah* after *fullnands*, the text now reading 'the child grew and waxed strong, being filled with spirit and wisdom'. This misconstrue seems likely to be post-Wulfilian.

L. iii. 23 και αυτος ην ο Ιησους ωσει ετων τριακοντα αρχομενος ων ως ενομιζετο υιος Ιωσηφ *jah silba was Iesus swe jere þrije tigiwe, uf gakunþai, swaei sunus munds was Iosefis*; vg. *et ipse Iesus erat incipiens* (om. e f) *quasi* (fere f) *annorum triginta, ut* (*sicut* e f) *putabatur* (*existimabatur* a f, *videb.* d q, +*esse* b c d e ff² l q) *filius Iosef.*

As I have punctuated the Gothic, the sense is 'Jesus was about 30 years old; being under (the) tutelage,[1] [*scil.* of Joseph] . . .' or, alternatively, omitting the comma before *uf gakunþai* 'Jesus was about 30 years under (the) tutelage [*scil.* of Joseph]', the former alternative being preferable, since not only does that punctuation emphasize the reason why He passed for Joseph's son, but it enables us to take the Greek ων strictly with αρχομενος, unless we omit it, with D, thus making the best of a bad job, the Goth having evidently mistaken αρχομενος for a passive.[2] In either case, the Gothic continues 'so that He was thought to be the son of Joseph'.

Uf gakunþai certainly bears the interpretation 'under discipline or tutelage', as witness 1 Cor. xv. 28 οταν δε υποταγη αυτῳ τα παντα, τοτε και αυτος ο υιος υποταγησεται *þanuh biþe alla gakunnun sik faura imma, þanuþ-þan is silba sunus gakann sik*, Gal. ii. 5 ειξαμεν τῃ υποταγῃ *gakunþedum ufhnaiwein*, and ibid. v. 8 η πεισμονη *so gakunds*; cf. also υπο εξουσιαν *uf waldufnja*. For the rest, *swaei* is necessarily consecutive,[3] which fact presupposes ως to have been taken as the equivalent of the consecutive ωστε[4] with the indic., and not in connexion with ων, which was either ignored or construed barbarously with αρχομενος, thus αρχομενος ων = *uf gakunþai wisands*, the last word, however, which we should not have been surprised to see in the text, becoming superfluous with the preceding and following *was*. The deviative order *sunus munds was* may be explained as being clearer than the somewhat ambiguous alternative *munds was sunus Iosefis*.

The last point in connexion with this passage to deserve mention

[1] Jesus worked with—and for—His father.

[2] See Bernhardt (note, ad loc.), who translates 'Jesus selbst war etwa 30 jahre alt, unter gehorsam (d.h. seinen eltern untertan), so dass er für Josephs sohn galt'.

[3] See *E.B* § 361 (c); also Bernhardt ad loc.

[4] Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Gr. N.T. Gr., Proleg.* 209, 'The total occurrences of ωστε in the N. T amount to 83, in 51 of which it takes the infin. A considerable number of the rest, however, are not by any means exx. of what we should call ωστε consecutive with the indic.' As two of the very few instances he cites Gal. ii. 13 and J. iii. 16. For a rare instance of ως = ωστε consecutive, see Acts xx. 24.

is the reading *sicut* of f and e. It is not unlikely that this reading corresponds formally—not, of course, in sense—to the Gothic *swaei*, being an ignorant counterfeit, in the bilinguals, of the Gothic conjunction. This conjecture receives support from the remarkable omission of *incipiens* from e and f: *et ipse Iesus erat fere* (*quasi* e) *annorum triginta sicut existimabatur* (*putabatur esse* e) *filius Ioseph.* The agreement of e f against vg. latt. is the more remarkable by reason of the close connexion existing between these two MSS. and the C. A.

Does this agreement point to a Palatinian-Brixian Gothic text omitting αρχομενος? It is possible, of course, that the Gothic text has here and there preserved an old reading of which scant traces have come down to us in the extant MSS.[1] In this case the blundering *uf gakunþai* would be the result of a post-Brixian revision with the Greek (cf. chap. xvi, § 4). Or was the Palatinian and Brixian *uf gakunþai* represented by a Latin equivalent since deleted, and therefore not appearing in e or f? Or, again, was *incipiens* in the Latin half of the Palatinian and Brixian deleted because the word did not correspond to the Gothic *uf gakunþai*?

L. iv. 33 εχων πνευμα δαιμονιου ακαθαρτου *habands ahman unhulþons unhrainjana* vg. f latt. *habens daemonium immundum* (cf. πνευμα δαιμονιον ακαθαρτον D). The adjective has been attracted to *ahman*, influenced by the collocation πνευμα ακαθαρτον κτλ. (o.o.4.11). The gen. sing. of *hrains, unhrains* is not extant. Cf. Mk. xii. 28, p. 147.

L. v. 19 καθηκαν αυτον συν τῳ κλινιδιῳ *gasatidedun ina*, vg. f *submiserunt: deposuerunt* e; Ags. Gosp. *ascndon*. Καθηκαν seems to have been confused with κατεθηκαν, perhaps during revision with some Greek text that happened to have that reading, although none such has come down to us (see p. 225). These Greek verbs occur once each in the Gospels, the latter in Mk. xv. 46, where the Goth has *galagida*. Perhaps the error goes back to the original translation, for the reading is plausible enough to have escaped correction. The agreement of e is remarkable.

L. v. 36 ει δε μηγε, και το καινον σχιζει *jah sa niuja aftaurnid*, vg. f *rumpit: conscindet* e; R. V. he will rend the new. The active construction becomes passive, with distortion of sense (Bernhardt 'das griech. verbum ist intransitiv gefasst'). Cf. however σχιζεται R and 472 (= Soden 22, 1386).

L. vi. 17 και της παραλιου Τυρου και Σιδωνος *jah þize faur marein Twre jah*

[1] 'Om. αρχομενος Ta $I^{r\,1241}$ aff sy[c] sa' Soden. Tischendorf cites 124 e f mt syr[sch] aeth.

Seidone, vg. *et maritima et* (om. a c e f ff² q r aur) *tyri et sidonis: et de transmarinis tyro et sidone* e. The Goth has construed παραλιου [1] as an adjective qualifying (της) Τυρου και Σιδωνος, which he idiomatically rendered by the corresponding ethnic names. *Faur marein*, therefore, becomes a loose adj. phrase qualifying *Twre jah Seidone*. Curiously enough, the Codex Palatinus shows the same construction, the abl. plur. (*de*) *transmarinis* agreeing with the following *tyro et sidone*. The Gothic addition *jah anþaraizo baurge*, moreover, is shared only by c d e (c presents a number of African features) *et aliarum* (*aliorum* e) *civitatum* (*-tium* d e), and the Bezan και αλλων πολεων, which in this text replaces και Ιερουσ . . . . Σιδωνος. Thus also d after D, (Cf. pp. 183–6 ff.)

L. viii. 4 συνιοντος δε οχλου πολλου και των κατα πολιν επιπορευομενων προς αυτον *gaqumanaim þan hiumam managaim jah þaim þaiei us baurgim gaiddjedun du imma.*

Here the Goth has loosely co-ordinated των . . . επιπορευομενων with οχλου, συνιοντος being taken with both. This faulty construing accounts for the relative *þaim þaiei* and is paralleled in some of the Old Lat. texts, e. g. e has *cum venisset autem turba magna et hi, qui de civitatibus advenerant ad eum*; so also c *conveniente autem turba multa et qui de singulis civ. exibant*; cf also a d *conveniente* (*-gregato* d) *autem turba magna* (*pop. mult.* d) *et eorum* (om. d) *qui* . . . Jerome, however, corrects to *cum autem turba plurima conveniret et de civitatibus properarent ad eum*. But cf. Bernhardt *ad loc.*

L. viii. 12 ινα μη πιστευσαντες σωθωσιν *ei galaubjandans ni ganisaina*, vg. f *ne credentes salvi fiant* (*salventur* c e δ). This is not likely to have been the original reading, since *ei ni galaubjandans ganisaina* would have been quite intelligible, whilst conforming to the normal technique. The misplacement of the negative is probably the work of the copyist, misled by the more familiar ring of the phrase as we have it in the C. A. Cf. Stolzenburg, loc. cit., p. 182 note 2, and *ZfdPh.* xxxiii. 12 ff. In J. xiv. 11 the negative has also been misplaced.

L. viii. 14 ουτοι εισιν οι ακουσαντες, και υπο μεριμνων και πλουτου και ηδονων του βιου πορευομενοι συμπνιγονται *þai sind þaiei gahausjandans jah af saurgom jah gabein jah gabaurjoþum þizos libainais gaggandans afþapnand.* The R. V. translates accurately with 'these are they that have heard, and as they go on their way are choked with cares &c.' If the Goth read οἱ for οἱ, we should have expected either *þai sind þaiei gahausjand jah . . . gaggandans afþapnand*, like vg. latt.

[1] της παραλιου = της παραλιου γης, χωρας, i. e. *maritimae regionis.*

hi sunt qui audierunt et . . . euntes suffocantur, or else *þai sind þaiei gahausjandans af saurgom . . . gaggandans afhvapnand*, like the A. V. 'are they, which when they have heard, go forth, and are choked &c.' and the isolated reading of the Codex Brixianus *hi sunt qui cum audierint verbum a sollicitudine . . . euntes suffocantur*, which possibly takes the Gothic rendering back to the Brixian bilingual.

It is quite clear, however, that this is no Wulfilian text we have before us; perhaps not even a misunderstanding of the Greek or imitation of the Latin by a later corrector. The relative *þaiei* has most probably intruded itself from the preceding context (see chap. xvii), viz. v. 13 οἱ δε επι της πετρας, οἱ οταν ακουσωσιν . . . ουτοι ριζαν ουκ εχουσιν, οἱ . . . κτλ., which the Goth quite correctly renders *þai ana þamma staina, ize þan hausjand . . . þai waurtins ni haband, þaiei du mela galaubjand.* Had the Goth intended to write the relative *þaiei* in v. 14, he would have written *þaiei gahausjand*, and the fact that the text we have before us reads *þaiei gahausjandans* plainly points to the original reading *þai gahausjandans* just as we have it in v. 12 *iþ þai wiþra wig sind þai hausjandans* (ακουοντες).

L. viii. 55 και επεστρεψεν το πνευμα αυτης *jah gawandida ahman izos* vg. f *reversus est spiritus eius.* The Greek verb is treated as transitive; cf. b ff² l *convertit spiritum*, and the conflate *convertit spiritus* of q. The correct version would have been *gawandida sik ahma izos*, of which the text of C. A. may be a corruption. See p. 107 (L. ix. 55).

L. xiv. 28 ουχι πρωτον καθισας ψηφιζει την δαπανην, ει εχει τα εις απαρτισμον *niu frumist gasitands rahneiþ manweiþo habaiu du ustiuhan*, vg. *computat sumptus qui necessarii sunt, si habet ad perficiendum*; thus also codd. et vg. et b c ff² l q aur (*consummandum* b c ff² l q), '*sed ex duplici, vel si placet ex libera interpretatione* (cf. Mk. ix. 15), *graeci enim habent* δαπανην ει εχει εις (*vel* τα εις *vel* τα προς)[1] απαρτισμον' (Wordsw.-White ad loc.).

The readings of d e and a f r are as follows:

d: computat erogationem si habet ad perfectum.

e: computat sumptum si habet ad consummationem.

a: computavit inpendia si habeat quae opus sunt ad consummandum eam.

f: conputat inpendia si habet quae opus sunt ad perficiendum.

r: computat sumptus si habet quae necessaria sunt ad consummandum.

It will be seen that in the last three *quae opus sunt* &c. translates the

[1] τα εις is the reading of *K, as represented by Sin AEGHKMSUΓΔΛΠ and many others; Tischendorf and von Soden omit τα with BDLR 225.

Greek τα (εις απαρτισμον), whilst d e follow the non-Κοινη reading, omitting τα, thus agreeing, characteristically, with C. A. In the Vulgate and b c ff² l q aur, the passage has been treated with some freedom. The Gothic text of C. A. corresponds to the older reading without τα, a correct translation of which, however, would be *rahneiþ manwiþa, habaiu du ustiuhan*, whilst the *K-text would have been represented by *rahneiþ manwiþa, habaiu þoei du ustiuhan*. The last two words do not necessarily point to the influence of Lat. *ad perficiendum*: cf. L. v. 4 εις αγραν *du fiskon*, 1 Thess. iv. 17 εις απαντησιν *du gamotjan*.

Whether we are to assume the non-Κοινη or the *K-text for the Wulfilian Vorlage is at present impossible to determine, but the congruence of C. A. with the MSS. d and e, the very texts which so often partner the Gothic, esp. in Luke, and, in this case, the only two Latin MSS. exactly corresponding to the reading of H–I, takes us back to a *rahneiþ manwiþa, habaiu du ustiuhan* in the Palatinian Bilingual (ch. xiii), without prejudice, however, to the existence of a pre-Palatinian *K-reading. The alteration to *manwiþo*[1] in the Argentean text is either a simple scribal error, or a purposed revision, taking *manwiþa* closely with *habaiu*, without reference to the Greek or Latin text, since a comparison with these—especially the latter—would be unfavourable to such a blundering alteration which, so far as the Gothic text alone is concerned, looks plausible enough.

What the reading of the Gothic text was previously to the Palatinian is, for the present, hidden from us. It is, however, reasonably possible that the Latin text of the Palatinian is responsible for the reading of the Gothic, for the influence of the Old Latin is seen also in L. xiv. 32 (see p. 179).

L. xvi. 16 και πας εις αυτην βιαζεται *jah wazuh in izai nauþjada*, vg. f *omnis in illud vim facit; omnes . . . faciunt* c i q; *festinant* a; *conatur* d e. Here βιαζεται (middle, 'enters forcibly') has been construed as passive, though not, perhaps, without reminiscence of the parallel M. xi. 12 η βασιλεια των ουρανων βιαζεται *þiudangardi himine anamahtjada*. Βιαζειν does not otherwise occur in the N.T.

L. xviii. 14 κατεβη ουτος δεδικαιωμενος εις τον οικον αυτου η γαρ εκεινος *atiddja sa garaihtoza gataihans du garda seinamma þau raihtis jains*. The Greek η γαρ εκεινος (παρ' εκεινον SinBL &c., μαλλον παρ' εκεινον D) was variously rendered in the Old Lat., the words η γαρ being generally represented by *magis* (*quam*). The comparative *garaihtoza* is evidently imposed by the following *þau*, the literal (? original) *garaihts gataihans . . . þau raihtis jains* being unintelligible.

[1] For the part. gen., cf. Bernhardt *ZfdPh.* ii. 292 (1870).

Mk. ii. 21 : see M. ix. 16 above.

Mk. iv. 29 οταν δε παραδῳ ο καρπος *þanuh biþe atgibada akran*, vg. *cum se produxerit fructus* (sic codd. pl.); *et cum produxerit fructus* l; *cum produxerit fructum* d f q; *cum ex se pr. fr.* Stephanica 1538 et Sixtina; *et cum fructum fecerit* a, *ediderit* b; *cum autem produxerit fructus* δ; *cum tradiderit fructus* e; *cum mutaverit fructum* c. Cf. also A. V. when the fruit is brought forth [marg. ripe] R. V. when the fruit is ripe [marg. alloweth]. The Greek seems to mean 'when the fruit allows'. This passage was generally misunderstood, as witness the free and erroneous renderings of the Old Lat. The C. A. here agrees with the vg. 'when the fruit is produced', against the more general 'when the tree produces fruit' of a b (c) d f q.

Mk. xi. 23 [ος αν] . . . πιστευση οτι α λεγει γινεται, εσται αυτῳ ο εαν ειπῃ [*þishvazuh ei*] . . . *galaubjai þata, ei þatei qiþiþ gagaggiþ, wairþiþ imma þishvah þei qiþiþ.* The punctuation is that of Streitberg. The vg. and f read *sed crediderit quia quodcumque dixerit fiat, fiet ei*; whilst k reads *si crediderit, quodcumque locutus fuerit et fiet, et erit quod dixerit*, where we have the conflation of two renderings.

As a correct translation of the Greek text we would suggest *ak galaubjai ei þatei* [= *þatei þatei*] *qiþiþ wairþiþ, wairþiþ imma þishvah þei qiþiþ*, the collocation *ei þatei*, for the awkward *þatei þatei*[1] being paralleled in 2 Thess. iii. 4 πεποιθαμεν . . . οτι α παραγγελλομεν υμιν κτλ. *gatrauam . . . ei þatei anabudum izwis, jah taujiþ jah taujan habaiþ.* The intruded *þata* of Mk. xi. 23, which Streitberg cites as an instance of the demonstrative *sa* 'ohne griechische entsprechung' (see *E. B.* § 281. 1), may well have arisen palaeographically, as, e. g., from a confusion between *ei þatei* and *þatei þatei*.

The use of *gagaggiþ* is difficult to account for. There is nothing like it in the C. A. Indeed, *gagaggiþ* is an impossible rendering of γινεται, although, by stretching a point, it might just do for εσται αυτῳ in the sense 'will come his way', as in the Vercellensian *contingent illi*. One passage there is, in which *gagaggan* is used in a somewhat similar sense, viz., Phil. i. 19 *þata mis gagaggiþ du ganistai*, vg. *proveniet in salutem* (R. V. shall turn to my salvation); but then the Greek here reads τουτο μοι αποβησεται, so that the Gothic is on that account technically justified. It may be that the revisor, disliking or mistrusting the consecutive '*wairþiþ, wairþiþ*', corrected the second *wairþiþ* to *gagaggiþ*, marginally, and that the next copyist substituted the correction for the first *wairþiþ* instead of the second.

[1] 'Nach den verben des glaubens und trauens steht regelmässig *þatei* mit dem indikativ, selten *ei*' *E.B.* § 354. 2.

Indeed *ei þatei qiþiþ wairþiþ, gagaggiþ imma þishvah þei qiþiþ*, which is distinctly more tolerable than the text of the C. A., may have been the original rendering.

Mk. xii. 28 πρωτη παντων εντολη *allaizo anabuzne frumista*, vg. *primum omnium* (om. latt.) *mandatum*. The Greek MSS. exhibit a variety of readings, but not the one corresponding to the text of C. A. Cf. L. iv. 33 (p. 142).

X

TWO EXTREMES

§ 1. *Free renderings.*

Notwithstanding the lexical and syntactical parallelism between the Gothic text and the Greek, we are not surprised to find instances where the Goth has allowed himself some freedom in rendering or construction. The following is a collection of all free renderings that deserve mention as such, so far as they are revealed by a scrutiny of the renderings with which this book is concerned. Some of them exhibit an unusual departure from the normal translation-technical procedure of the translator, and of these a number are imposed by necessity, whilst in others the need for freedom of rendering is not so evident. Others, again, exemplify, in varying degrees, mere syntactical deviation from the original, where it is not always easy to say whether the treatment has been free beyond the limits which the Goth normally permitted himself. Nor is it always possible to draw the line between freedom, eccentricity, and inaccuracy of rendering, or to say whether the rendering has not been affected by some remotely reminiscent passage. For this reason these examples are once again set out in order.

M. v. 40 τῳ θελοντι σοι κριθηναι *þamma wiljandin miþ þus staua*. Κρινειν = *stojan* 15/16. Cf. Mk. x. 45 *at andbahtjam*.

M. vi. 12 τα οφειληματα ημων *þatei skulans sijaima*. As a possible rendering of the Greek word cf. *dulgis* (gen. sing.) in L. vii. 41 δυο χρεοφειλεται ησαν *twai dulgis skulans wesun dulgahaitjin sumamma* 'two (men) were debtors of a debt to a certain lender (? caller-in of debts)', where *dulgis* seems superfluous.

M. viii. 2 and Mk. i. 40 λεπρος *manna* (om. Mk. i. 40) *þrutsfill habands*, vg. f *leprosus*. Elsewhere *þrutsfills* 1.0.3.0 = 4/6 (p. 239).

M. viii. 26 τι δειλοι εστε *ƕa faurhteiþ*. The parallel Mk. iv. 40 has *duhve faurhtai sijuþ*.

M. ix. 13 πορευθεντες δε μαθετε τι εστιν αφφαν *gaggaiþ ganimiþ ƕa sijai*. This is an unusual—and unnecessary—departure.

M. xxvii. 3 κατεκριθη *du stauai gatauhans warþ*, hence f *ad iudicium ductus est*: vg. *damnatus esset*. Perhaps a legal phrase; cf. L. xviii. 14.

J. viii. 29 τα αρεστα αυτῳ *þatei leikaiþ imma*. Vg. f *quae placita sunt ei*: *placent* a d e.

J. viii. 32 η αληθεια ελευθερωσει υμας *so sunja frijans izwis briggiþ*; similarly v. 36 *sunus izwis frijans briggiþ*. This use of *briggan* is idiomatic, cf. Streitberg *W.B.* '*briggan* . . . dient zur umschreibung der aoriste von αξιουν . . . καταξιουν . . . ικανουν . . . ελευθερουν . . . κεφαλαιουν . . . συνκοινωνειν . . . παραζηλουν . . . παροργιζειν . . .' The passages cited are from the Epistles, except the present instance and Mk. xii. 4.

J. x. 31 εβαστασαν παλιν λιθους . . . ινα λιθασωσιν αυτον *nemun aftra stainans . . . ei waurpeina ana ina*, vg. latt. *ut lapidarent*. A free rendering, supplying *stainam* from the context, to avoid a harsh repetition. Cf. λιθαζειν *stainjan* (J. x. 32, 33), *afwairpan stainam* (J. xi. 8), καταλιθαζειν *stainam afwairpan* (L. xx. 6), λιθοβοληsαντες *stainam wairpandans* (Mk. xii. 4).

J. xi. 16 ειπεν ουν Θωμας . . . τοις συμμαθηταις αυτου *þaim gahlaibam seinaim*, vg. *ad condiscipulos*; *condiscipulis* f. *Gahlaiba* 'companion, comrade' does not exactly render the Greek word. It occurs once more = συστρατιωτης in Phil. ii. 25. One would have expected **gasiponjam*: cf. *gaskalki*, *gasinþa*, *in gasinþjam*, *garazna*, *ganiþjis*, *gadaila*, rendering συνδουλος, συνεκδημος, εν τῃ συνοδιᾳ, γειτων, συγγενης, συγ)κοινωνος. There are no nouns of similar form (συν-, *con*-), compounded with *miþ*-.

J. xi. 38 ην δε σπηλαιον και λιθος επεκειτο επ' αυτῳ *wasuh þan hulundi jah staina ufarlagida was ufaro* 'was overlaid with a stone on the top'. A free, but idiomatic rendering, retaining *hulundi* as subject of the following sentence; cf. M. xxvii. 60 προσκυλισας λιθον μεγαν τῃ θυρᾳ *faurwalwjands staina mikilamma daurons*. The reading of the Brixianus *lapis superpositus erat supra* (*ei* vg.) shows the influence of the Gothic.

J. xviii. 10 ην δε ονομα τῳ δουλῳ Μαλχος *sah þan haitans was namin M.* The rendering is free, and the relative *sah* avoids the repetition of *skalks* in the preceding context. The literal rendering would be *wasuh namo þamma skalka M.* Similar freedom is displayed in L. xvi. 20 ην ονοματι Λαζαρος *was namin haitans Lazarus* (cf. L. xix. 2 ονοματι καλουμενος Ζακχαιος *namin haitans Z.*). So also L. i. 26 η ονομα Ναζαρεθ *sei haitada N.* On the other hand M. xxvii. 57 τουνομα Ιωσηφ *bizuh namo Iosef*, L. ii. 25, viii. 41 ῳ ονομα *þizei namo* are less free,

whilst in L. i. 5 ονοματι Ζαχαριας *namin Zakarias*, και το ονομα αυτης Ελισαβετ *jah namo izos Aileisabaiþ*, the rendering is quite literal.

L. i. 11 ωφθη δε αυτῳ *warþ þan imma in siunai*. Perhaps affected by the context of v. 22 *siun* (οπτασιαν) *gasaiv*.

L. i. 21 εθαυμαζον εν τῳ χρονιζειν αυτον *sildaleikidedun ƕa latidedi ina*, vg. latt. *quod tardaret*. *Latjan* is transitive, the sense being 'they wondered what might be delaying him'. There is no need to assume, with Streitberg (see note ad loc.), that the translator mistook αυτον for the object.

L. i. 28 κεχαριτωμενη *anstai audahafta*: see p. 129.

L. i. 78 δια σπλαγχνα ελεους *þairh infeinandein armahairtein*, vg. f *per viscera misericordiae*. This is a free, but excellent rendering of an awkward phrase. The Gothic words mean, literally, 'durch erbarmendes mitleid' (Streitberg), as if representing a Greek δια σπλαγχνιζομενον ελεον; *infeinan* regularly translates σπλαγχνιζεσθαι (f. σπλαγχνον, τα σπλαγχνα, *viscera*, hence the heart, seat of the feelings). We have a more literal, yet less meritorious rendering in Col. iii. 12 σπλαγχνα οικτιρμου *brusts bleiþeins* [*armahairtein*], the last word being an incorporated gloss.

L. iii. 1 [ηγεμονευοντος] . . . τετραρχουντος της Γαλιλαιας Ηρωδου κτλ. [*raginondin*] . . . *fidurraginja þis Galeilaias Herodeis*, vg. f [*procurante*] . . . *tetrarcha autem Gal. Her.*; *quattuorviratum habente herode* e. The Goth, instead of a possible verbal construction after the Greek (e. g. **fidurraginondin*), prefers the noun, lit. 'in the tetrarchy of Herod over Galilee'.

L. v. 5 χαλασωμεν τα δικτυα *ƕairþam natja*, vg. f *laxabo*. Cf. v. 4 χαλασατε *athahid*, and Mk. ii. 4 where the same verb is translated *insailidedun*. Here perhaps a stylistic variant. See p. 78.

L. vi. 7 ινα ευρωσι κατηγοριαν (κατηγορειν Sin* BSX) αυτου *ei bigeteina til du ƕrohjan ina*, whence f *occasionem accusandi eum*. Other Latin readings are vg. d q *ut invenirent accusare illum*; *unde accusarent* vg. c ff² aur; *accusationem* r; *ut invenirent et accusarent illum* a e. The Gothic rendering is very free, and stands alone.

L. vi. 21 μακαριοι οι κλαιοντες νυν, οτι γελασετε *audagai jus gretandans nu, unte ufhlohjanda*, vg. f *videbitis*; *gaudebitis* q; *ridebunt* e. *Ufhlohjan* is causative; they that weep now shall be 'made to laugh', they shall be given cause for rejoicing, which forms an effective contrast to the groundless laughter of the others (v. 25): *ƕai izƕis, jus hlahjandans nu, unte gaunon jah gretan duginnid*. Bernhardt remarks '*ufhlohjanda* . . . eigentl. *exhilaramini*'.

L. vii. 45 φιλημα μοι ουκ εδωκας *ni kukides mis*, vg. f *osculum mihi non*

dedisti: perhaps assimilated to the following καταφιλουσα *bikukjan*, and v. 38 κατεφιλει *kukida*.

L. viii. 29 αλυσεσιν *eisarnabandjom*: see Mk. v. 3 below.

L. viii. 37 απαν το πληθος της περιχωρου των Γαδαρηνων *allai gaujans þize Gaddarene* vg. f *omnis multitudo regionis gerasenorum* (e deficit). This is a very summary rendering. The Greek η περιχωρος (γη) 'the country round about' is represented by curious equivalents in Gothic. The word (preceded by πας, ολος = *allans*, *all*) is translated by

A. *gauja* 'gaubewohner' L. iii. 3 and viii. 37; *bisitands* 'settler, inhabitant, neighbour' L. vii. 17 and Mk. i. 28.

B. *gawi bisitande*, L. iv. 14; *þis bisunjane landis* L. iv. 37, meaning 'the land of the (surrounding) inhabitants.'

C. *gawi* 'the country' Mk. vi. 55.

The rendering *gauja* 'inhabitant' is therefore paralleled in three other passages, but the omission of the Greek πληθος is unjustified, since *alla managei* (*þize*) *gaujane* would have made a perfectly good and normal rendering; cf. L. iv. 4 *all gawi bisitande*; L. iv. 37 *and allans stadins þis bisunjane landis*.

L. ix. 25 τι γαρ ωφελειται ανθρωπος *hvo allis þaurfte gataujiþ sis manna*, vg. *quid enim proficit homo; quid enim prodest homini* f; *prodeest* b d e l. For a similar turn of speech cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 3 ουδεν ωφελουμαι *ni waiht botos mis taujau*.

L. xvi. 20 ην ονοματι *was namin haitans*: see J. xviii. 10 above.

L. xvii. 6 εκριζωθητι *uslausei þuk us waurtim*, vg. e f *eradicare*.

L. xviii. 7 (8) ποιηση (ποιησει) την εκδικησιν *gawrikai* (*gawrikiþ*), vg. f *faciet vindictam*. The rendering, by one Gothic word, of two or more Greek words is not so common as the contrary procedure illustrated in the preceding passage. Cf. also L. viii. 37.

L. xviii. 14 δεδικαιωμενος *garaihtoza gataihans*: as if='announced (to be) more just'. Perhaps a legal phrase; cf. M. xxvii. 3, and see p. 145.

L. xx. 6 πεπεισμενος γαρ εστιν Ιωαννην προφητην ειναι *triggwaba galaubjand auk allai Ioh. praufetu wisan*, vg. f *certi sunt; persuasum est enim illis* e. The interpolated *allai* is from the parallels M. xxi. 26 and Mk. xi. 32, but the emphasizing addition of *triggwaba* is curious. On this passage Bernhardt remarks 'Zu *triggwaba*, das hier activen sinn hat "vertrauend", vgl. Phil. i. 25 *þata triggwaba wait* τουτο πεποιθως οιδα' (οτι μενω κτλ.). But *triggwaba* cannot possibly be taken in this sense. In the passage cited, πεποιθως has been ignorantly taken to be an adverb with οιδα, instead of being correctly construed closely with τουτο. In the present passage the Gothic word is probably a later addition, thus explaining the unusual position of *auk*, which should normally stand

second. In the two passages which Streitberg (*E.B.* § 339) quotes as instances where *auk* occupies the third place, viz. *maht wesi auk, skuld ist auk,* the second word is enclitic. The original reading should have been simply *galaubjand auk Ioh. praufetu wisan.*

L. xx. 20 υποκρινομενους εαυτους δικαιους ειναι *þans us liutein taiknjandans sik garaihtans wisan,* vg. *qui se iustos simularent; se fingebant esse iustos* f. With the Gothic text cf. *in dolo loquentes se esse iustos* d.

Mk. i. 36 και κατεδιωξαν αυτον *jah galaistans waurþun imma.* We should have expected *galaistidedun imma.* Cf., however, 2 Tim. iii. 10 παρηκολουθηκας μου τη διδασκαλια *galaista is laiseinai meinai.*

Mk. i. 40 *þrutsfill habands*: see M. viii. 2 above, whence perhaps the present reading. See p. 239.

Mk. ii. 4 χαλωσιν τον κραββατον *insailidedun þata badi jah fralailotun*: see p. 222.

Mk. iii. 9 ινα πλοιαριον προσκαρτερη αυτῳ *ei skip habaiþ wesi at imma,* vg. f *ut navicula sibi deserviret; praesto esset* e. A curious, but idiomatic rendering.

Mk. iv. 5 βαθος γης *in þizei ni habaida diupaizos airþos,* vg. f *altitudinem terrae: terram multam* e. The literal rendering would be *diupiþa* (*-iþos*) *airþos.* Cf. Mk. iv. 28.

Mk. iv. 22 εις φανερον ελθη *swikunþ wairþai,* vg. f *in palam veniat.* Cf. M. vi. 4, 6 *in bairhtein.*

Mk. iv. 28 πληρη σιτον *fulliþ kaurnis* 'the fullness of the corn'; vg. *plenum frumentum; plenum granum* f. We should have expected *fullata kaurn.* An instance of the converse change in construction occurs in Mk. iv. 5 (above), also in Mk. viii. 20 (p. 237), where ποσων σπυριδων πληρωματα becomes *hwan managans spyreidans fullans gabruke,* but in this case in conformity with the previous verse κοφινους πληρεις κλασματων *hwan managos tainjons fullos gabruko.*

Mk. v. 3, 4 *jah ni naudibandjom eisarneinaim* (αλυσεσιν) *manna mahta ina gabindan, unte is ufta eisarnam bi fotuns gabuganaim* (πεδαις) *jah naudibandjom eisarneinaim* (αλυσεσιν) *gabundans was, jah galausida af sis þos naudibandjos* (αλυσεις), *jah þo ana fotum eisarna* (πεδας) *gabrak.*

The parallel L. viii. 29 reads *bundans was eisarnabandjom* (αλυσεσιν), *jah fotubandjom* (πεδαις) *fastaiþs was.* Bernhardt (whom Stolzenburg quotes p. 371 note 3), commenting on the former passage (ad loc.) says:—'Schon *naudibandi* klingt wie dichterischer ausdruck; durch den zusatz von *eisarneinaim* wird die schilderung noch lebhafter; diesen eindruck erhöht noch *eisarnam bi fotuns gabuganaim* im folgenden verse. Einfacher ist im Lukas αλυσις durch *eisarnabandi,* πεδη durch *fotubandi* gegeben. Vgl. über ähnliche ausschmückungen zu M. ix. 23.'

Similarly Kauffmann (p. 174) 'Dies altepische kompositum [*scil.* Eph. vi. 20 εν αλυσει *in kunawidom*] erhielt in der gotenbibel die beiden variationen *naudibandjo* αλυσιν (2 Tim. i. 16) und *bundans was eisarnabandjom jah fotubandjom fastaiþs was* . . . L. viii. 29, die sich an der parallelstelle (M. v. 3–4) im lauf der textgeschichte miteinander verflochten und ein *epitheton ornans* hinterlassen haben. . . .'

Unfortunately, utterances like these lead nowhere. We have ample proof that it was not the Gothic habit to indulge in rhetoric at the expense of the literal translation-technique that characterizes the Gothic Gospels, according to which we judge *fotubandi* to be the Wulfilian rendering of πεδη, whilst of *naudibandi* (Mk.) and *eisarnabandi* (L.), the former may be the older word—'a bond'—and the latter, unless it is a chance synonym going back to the original translation (and there is no reason why it should not), may possibly be an endeavour to render more specifically the Latin *catena* (cf. *naudibandjom eisarneinaim*). These renderings not only are excellent in themselves, but recur, or are paralleled, in the other Germanic dialects. Cf. Ags. Gosp. L. viii. 29 *he wæs mid racenteagum gebunden, and mid fot-copsum gehealden*; O.S. Heliand 2723 *klustarbendi*, 3797 *liðobendi*, 4917 *herubendi*; OE. Genesis 371 *irenbendas*; Tatian 199. 1 *notbendigon*. Also OHG. (Merseb. Zauberspr.) *haptbandun*.

The problem is to account for the addition of *eisarneinaim* after *naudibandjom* (Mk.), and for the two extraordinary paraphrases *eisarnam bi fotuns gabuganaim* and *þo ana fotum eisarna*. The former may be a later precisioning addition which was, however, not consistently carried out: cf. Mk. v. 4 *galausida af sis þos naudibandjos*; or the phrase may be reminiscent of χειροπεδαις σιδηραις, vg. *manicis ferreis* (Ps. cxlix. 8). It is difficult to see here, with Kauffmann, a conflation of *naudibandi* and *eisarnabandi*. The paraphrases *eisarnam bi fotuns gabuganaim*, *þo ana fotum eisarna* are certainly puzzling. The two phrases look suspiciously like a translation of some similar turn of speech in Greek, as though representing σιδηροις περι ποσιν κεκαμμενοις, and τους επι ποσιν σιδηρους, and intruded into the text from some Gothic translation of a Greek homily, after the style of *Skeireins*.

The original version of this passage, assuming the uniform rendering of the two Greek words, would have been

> jah ni naudibandjom manna mahta ina gabindan,
> unte is ufta fotubandjom jah naudibandjom gabundans was,
> jah galausida af sis þos naudibandjos,
> jah þos fotubandjos gabrak,

which is not only more 'stilgerecht', but appeals to us, by reason of its

simplicity and balance, more than the interpolated, over-weighted text of the C. A. An interesting comparison is furnished by the same passage in the Ags. Gospels:—

> and hine nan man mid racenteagum ne mihte gebindan.
> forþam he oft, mid fotcopsum and racenteagum gebunden,
> toslat þa raceteaga,
> and þa fotcopsas tobræc.

Mk. vi. 21 τοις γενεσιοις αυτου *mela gabaurþais seinaizos*, vg. *natali suo*. It is not easy to see what else the Goth could have written. The Brixian *tempore natalis sui* is after the Gothic.

Mk. vii. 5, 8, 9 παραδοσιν κτλ. *bi þammei anafulhun þai sinistans : þatei anafulhun mannans : þata anafulhano*. Cf. Mk. vii. 3 *anafilh þize sinistane*.

Mk. x. 45 ουκ ηλθεν διακονηθηναι, αλλα διακονησαι *ni qam at andbahtjam, ak andbahtjan*. *At andbahtjam* is a neat turn of speech, avoiding an awkward paraphrase for the passive infinitive (see *E.B.* § 312 and note). Cf. M. v. 40 κριθηναι *staua*.

Mk. xii. 1 υπολήνιον *dal uf mesa*, vg. f latt. *lacum : torcular* k. A paraphrase of doubtful accuracy, since the Greek word = 'the vessel under a press to receive the wine or oil: a vat, Lat. *lacus*' (L. & S.), from ληνος a tub, trough, winepress. Elsewhere Gothic *mes* = τραπεζα, πιναξ.

Mk. xii. 3 απεστειλαν κενον *insandidedun laushandjan* ; vg. f latt. *vacuum : inanem* k. The parallel L. xx. 10, 11 reads *insandidedun lausana*. Cf. also L. i. 53 *insandida lausans*.

Mk. xii. 4 εκεφαλαιωσαν *haubiþ wundan brahtedun*. This is idiomatic: cf. above, J. viii. 32, 36.

§ 2. *Literalisms of rendering.*

As a contrast to the freely conceived translations exemplified above, we will give a few instances of the extreme of literalism.

J. xi. 17 τεσσαρας ημερας ηδη εχοντα εν τῳ μνημειῳ *juþan fidwor dagans habandan* ; cf. vg. *quattuor dies . . . habentem*. The Goth ought here to have written *wisandan*.

L. i. 31 συλληψῃ εν γαστρι *ganimis in kilþein*. Contrast herewith the idiomatic renderings of L. i. 36 συνειληφυια υιον *so inkilþo sunau* ; Mk. xiii. 17 ταις εν γαστρι εχουσαις *þaim qiþuhaftom*.

L. ii. 24 ζευγος τρυγονων *gajuk hraiwadubono*. Ags. Gosp. *twa turtlan* ; vg. *par turturum*.

L. xvi. 20 ος εβεβλητο προς τον πυλωνα αυτου *sah ataiwaurþans was du daura is*.

This atrocious rendering is equalled only by d *missus erat* and the *projectus erat* of e. Elsewhere the C. A. has *ligan*, for this use of the Greek verb. See p. 180.

Mk. iv. 29 αποστελλει το δρεπανον *insandeiþ gilþa*, vg. f *mittit*; Ags. Gosp. *he sent*; R.V. putteth forth, marg. sendeth forth.

Mk iv. 34 τοις μαθηταις αυτου επελυεν παντα *andband allata*, vg. f *disserebat*; *resolvebat* e. *Gataih* would have been better.

Mk. vi. 21 τοις μεγιστασιν *þaim maistam*, vg. *principibus*. *Þaim reikistam* would have been a better rendering.

Mk. viii. 7 ειπεν παραθειναι και αυτα *qaþ ei afiagidedeina jah þans*. Ειπειν in the sense 'command' should be *haitan*, as in Mk. v. 43; x. 49; L. xix. 15.

Mk. xiv. 15 (αναγαιον μεγα) εστρωμενον ετοιμον (*kelikn mikalata*) *gastrawiþ manwjata*; vg. *stratum*; A. V., R. V. furnished. Cf. *lectum sternere*, Gk. λεχος στορεσαι. See also p. 138.

Mk. xiv. 54 θερμαινομενος προς το φως *warmjands sik at liuhada*, vg. *ad ignem*; Ags. Gosp. *æt þam fyre*.

PART II

THE HISTORY OF THE GOTHIC GOSPEL TEXT

XI

UNIFORM, DUAL, AND MULTIPLE RENDERINGS, AND THEIR BEARING ON THE HISTORY OF THE GOTHIC TEXT

In connexion with the uniformity of rendering which is everywhere a noticeable feature of the Gothic Version, it will be useful to summarize the results of the lists we appended to the chapter on Exceptional Renderings.

The first of these lists (p. 120) showed all renderings (*a*) that occur only once in all the Gothic fragments; (*b*) that are *απαξ λεγ.* in the Gospels, but occur in the Epistles; (*c*) that are instanced elsewhere as rendering other Gk. words, but are unique as renderings of the particular word for which they stand in the passage under consideration;

The second list (p. 121) shows (*d*) renderings which, although instanced more than once, are yet peculiar to one Gospel.

By tabulating the figures under the four columns *a b c d* we arrive at the following:

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	Total.
M.	1	3	–	1	5
J.	3	5	1	1	10
L.	5	3	7	9	24
Mk.	2	1	1	3	7
	11	12	9	14	46

It will be noticed how negligibly small is the number of unique renderings[1] under each of the colums *a*, *b*, and *c*, and how, as usual, the total amount of variation is, actually and relatively, greatest in Luke.

[1] These do not include those illustrated under Dual Renderings (chap. vi) where the Greek word itself is instanced only twice or three times, e. g. *κεραια* = *striks*, *writs* once each; *νομιζειν* = *hugjan* (2), *ahjan* (1); *θυσια* = *hunsl* (3), *saujs* (1).

These figures testify to the basic homogeneity of the vocabulary throughout the four Gospels. Yet when we consider the entire mass of exceptional renderings, it becomes apparent that if the Gospel of Luke does not exhibit any disproportion in the matter of unique renderings, it nevertheless shows considerable differences in the application and use of the common vocabulary, the total amount of variation having been shown to be, relatively, sixty per cent. greater than in Matthew (p. 119).

Matthew, again, adheres in every way more closely to the original than do the other three Gospels, showing in this respect a more primitive technique or, alternatively, less traces of revisional disturbance. Counterfeits are more closely modelled after the Greek :

αντιδικος : M. v. 25 *andastaua* ; L. xviii. 3 *andastaþjis.*

αποστασιον : M. v. 31 *afstassais* (*bokos*) ; Mk. x. 4 *afsateinais.*

ασθενεια : M. viii. 17 *unmahts* ; J. xi. 4 *siukei* ; L. v. 15 ; viii. 2 *sauhts.*

οικοδεσποτης : M. x. 25 (so L. xiv. 21) *gardawaldands* ; Mk. xiv. 14 *heiwafrauja.*

προφητευειν : M. xi. 13 *fauraqiþan* ; elsewhere *praufetjan* 5 6.

The same simplicity of rendering is illustrated in :

M. vi. 4, 6 εν φανερῳ *in bairhtein* ; cf. L. viii. 17 *in swekunþamma* ; Mk. iv. 22 *swikunþ wairþai.*

M. vi. 26 συναγουσιν εις αποθηκας *lisand in banstins* ; L. iii. 17 συναξει τον σιτον εις την αποθ. *briggiþ kaurn in bansta.*

M. vii. 19 μη ποιουν καρπον *ni taujandane akran* ; L. iii. 9 *unbairandane akran* (p. 102).

M. viii. 4 υπαγε σεαυτον δειξον *gagg þuk silban ataugei* ; Mk. i. 44 *gagg þuk silban ataugjan* ; L. v. 14 απελθων δειξον σεαυτον *gagg jah ataugei þuk.*

M. viii. 20 που την κεφαλην κλινῃ *anahnaiwjai* ; L. ix. 58 *galagjai.*

M. viii. 22 νεκρους *let þans dauþans filhan seinans dauþans* ; L. ix. 60 *dauþans . . . nawins.* So M. xi. 5 *dauþai urreisand,* against L. vii. 22 *naweis urreisand.*

M. viii. 34 εξηλθεν εις συναντησιν τῳ Ιησου *usiddja wiþra Iesu* ; cf. J. xii. 13 *urrunnun wiþragamotjan imma.*

M. xi. 3 ετερον προσδοκωμεν *beidaima* ; L. vii. 19, 20 *wenjaima.*

M. xi. 19 εδικαιωθη *usrwaurhta gadomida warþ* ; L. vii. 35 *gasunjoda warþ* (p. 105).

In contrast to the first Gospel, with its greater simplicity of style and diction and more ingenuous technique stand the Gospels of Luke and Mark. Not only do these Gospels, especially Luke, show a greater freedom of rendering and construction, but also, to some extent, in the choice of vocabulary. It has already been observed, in discussing the Dual Renderings (chap. vi), that whichever rendering predominates in

M. and J. is also best represented in the other Gospels, where, however the alternative rendering is relatively much more frequent.

A similar phenomenon is observable when we examine the Greek words that are represented in Gothic by more than two renderings representing the same sense of the original. I have counted 83 of these multiple renderings, of which 58 represent Greek verbs, 18 nouns, and 7 adjectives and adverbs; and this number includes cases that could with some reason have been omitted, on the ground that at least one of the three renderings was imposed by the exigencies of the sense. Among these might be placed *γιγνεσθαι*, whose third rendering, *wisan*, is in every case justified by the context, where *wairþan* would at least be inelegant. On the other hand, there is no reason why *δοξαζειν* should not uniformly be represented by *hauhjan*.

The following is a select list of multiple renderings. Only the most important examples are exhibited, not only for lack of space, but also because nothing would here be gained by exhausting the material, a portion of which is not represented at all in Matthew, and is therefore useless for illustration.

Γιγνεσθαι	*wairþan*	20.20.75.31.
	qiman	– 2. – 3.
	wisan	– – 4. 3.
δοκειν	*þugkjan*	2. 1. 2. 1.
	munan	– 1. 1. –
	hugjan	– 1. – –
δοξαζειν	*hauhjan*	2.13. 1. –
	mikiljan	1. – 5. –
	gaswerjan	– 3. – –
	[*awiliudon*	L. xviii. 43: see p. 135.]
ερχεσθαι	*qiman*	24.55.48.48.
	atgaggan	3. 4. 2.11.
	gaggan	– 12. 9. 5.
	gaqiman	– 1. – –
	usgaggan	– 1. – –
	galeiþan	– 2. – 1.
	hiri	– 1. – –
	anawairþs	– 1. – 1.
	urrinnan	– – 2. –
	atrinnan	– – 1. –
εξερχεσθαι	*usgaggan*	12. 8.29.26.
	urrinnan	(1) 6. 4. 3.
	galeiþan ut	– 2. 1. 3.
	atgaggan ut	– 2. – –
	qiman	– – – 1.
	usstandan	– – – 2.

απερχεσθαι	*galeiþan*	9.13.12.15.
	gaggan	1. – 3. –
	afleiþan	– – 1. 1.
	usleiþan	– – – 1.
λαμβανειν	*niman*	8.19. 7.13.
	usniman	1. – 1. –
	andniman	– 6. 1. 1.
	dissitan	– – 2. –
	franiman	– – 1. –
	andsaihvan	– – 1. –
	undgreipan	– – – 1.
ποιειν	*gataujan*	23.58.57.41.
	gawaurkjan	– 6.10. 5.
	unbairands	– – 1. – (p. 102).
	gawrikan	– – 1. – (p. 151).
πολυς	*manags*	11.10.17.19.
	filu	1. 1. 2. 7.
	mikils	– 1. – –
	ganohs	– 1. – –
πορευεσθαι	*gaggan*	5. 9.29. 2.
	atgaggan	1. – 1. –
	galeiþan	– – 1. –
	afleiþan	– – 1. –
	wraton	– – 1. –

These examples, which are typical of the rest, show up very strikingly the simplicity of diction in the first Gospel as against the rest; the multiple renderings are found anywhere but in Matthew.

In this respect J. is often found differing from Matth. in exhibiting a more varied diction, whereas, in the case of dual renderings, M. and J. agree together against the others. This is partly to be accounted for by the fact that whereas of the 72 dual renderings exhibited in chapter vi, only 28 are verbs, it is just the verbs which, in the nature of the case, predominate among words with multiple renderings, whilst the subtleties of the fourth Gospel sufficiently account for the multiplicity of the renderings, in John, of verbs like ερχεσθαι, εξερχεσθαι κτλ.[1]

How are we to account for this greater uniformity of vocabulary, this simplicity of diction and more primitive translation-technique in Matthew, which features are, in part at least, shared by John? Two views are possible. We may argue that, since the first Gospel was in all probability the first to be turned into Gothic, we might here expect a greater meticulousness of method, a more scrupulous subservience to the mechanical technique that was never again quite so rigidly adhered to.

[1] Cf. Bernhardt, Vulfila, p. xxv. 'Auch aus Johannes lassen sich, namentlich was die wahl des ausdrucks betrifft, mancherlei besonderheiten anführen, vgl. meine anmerkung zu, vi. 4.'

On the other hand it must be remembered that the Gospels of Luke and Mark, especially the former, have suffered in a far greater degree than M. and J. the influence of the Old Latin Version, and that they bear traces of piecemeal revision, alteration, tampering, sometimes for better, sometimes for worse. We certainly possess in Luke and, to a less extent, in Mark, a text that has a very much longer palaeographical and revisional past behind it than that of M. and J. May we ascribe most, at any rate, of the distinguishing characteristics of the two former Gospels to this fact? Against this, however, it may be objected that the dual renderings in L. and Mk., and the multiple renderings in L., Mk., and J. cannot, for the most part, be ascribed to the influence of the Old Latin and may, therefore, be as old as the Wulfilian text. Nevertheless, these differences cannot all go back to the original translation. The assimilation of the Gothic and Old Latin texts to one another, and many of the differences in vocabulary, style, and diction of which we have spoken must have been the work of later hands.

To what accident is it due that the text of M. and J., as preserved in the C. A., seems to have escaped the changes that characterize the Argentean text of Luke and Mark? It seems fairly certain on the palaeographical evidence that the C. A. was written in North Italy in the sixth century, but this is no proof that it represents a wholly Ostrogothic text, whilst there are indications pointing to the fact that the Argentean Gospels are based partly on an older ('Wulfilian' or 'Authorized') Version, and in part on a later (or 'Revised') Version.[1]

By the time that Theodoric had established his kingdom, the Wisigoths had enjoyed a century of dominion in Toulouse. Not only, then, will these have felt the need for a Gothic-Latin bilingual earlier, but their greater social and political stability must have favoured a critical revision of their Bible, influenced perhaps by the example of Jerome, at a time when their Ostrogothic kinsmen still wandered restless over the bleak and war-wasted Balkans.

It is just such a revised and latinized text that we have in the Argentean L. and Mk. and, having regard to this fact, and to the orthographic peculiarities of the earlier chapters of Luke, we may hazard the suggestion that these two Gospels go back to a Wisigothic original,[2] whilst the first Gospel presents, in the C. A., the type of text which most nearly approximates to the original text of Wulfila.

[1] Cf. Gabel.-Loebe, *prol.* xix, quoted on p. 242.

[2] By the murder, in 484, of Recitach, Theodoric had 30,000 Triarian Wisigoths added to his following (Hodgkin, iii. 125).

XII

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS MAKING FOR THE LATINIZATION OF THE GOTHIC TEXT

The infiltration into the Gothic text of Old Latin readings and renderings, which was the result of a contact extending over a long period of time, affects all the four Gospels. We cannot definitely say from what point in the history of the Gothic Gospels this invasion of latinisms may be said to have begun. It may be doubted whether the Old Latin version was consulted by the original translator; we, at least, have found no evidence in support of the theory, first elaborated by Marold (*Germania*, vol. 26 f.), that Wulfila had made use of the Old Latin. Of the influence of the Vulgate there is no trace whatever.[1]

Ever since the last decades of the fourth century,[2] however, the Goths were recruited in ever increasing numbers into the Roman army, either as auxiliaries or, especially later, as legionaries. Hodgkin tells us that 'It was in fact the hardy Goths of the Danube who had won victories for Theodosius over Maximus and his Britons, over Arbogast and his Franks', and that the Gothic auxiliaries formed the backbone of the Army of the East.[3] These battles were fought near Aquileia in 388 and 394, and it was from the road *ad pirum*, as Hodgkin reminds us, that Alaric the Wisigoth first looked down upon the Venetian plain. Again, speaking of the time of Valentinian III (425–55), he says, 'We may conjecture however that the former [*scil.* native Italians] had become a very slight ingredient in the mass, and that the Germans no longer served merely as "auxiliaries" in the wings of the army, but were now the backbone of the Legion itself' (Ibid., ii. 521).

Even closer was the contact of the Gothic auxiliaries who, under the general command of Stilicho, the Vandal, had been for almost a generation billeted in the towns of Northern Italy. In 385 we find them in Milan, where they took a prominent part in the Arian disputes under the

[1] Thus, also, Streitberg, *E.B.* § 13, ii; see also below, p. 194.

[2] The Wisigoths were admitted as *foederati* in 380.

[3] T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. i, pp. 169, 246. Cf. also Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. iii ad init.: 'After Constantine, the barbarians form the majority of the troops; after Theodosius, a Roman is the exception. The soldiers of the Eastern Empire in the time of Arcadius are almost all Goths.'

usurper Bishop Mercurinus, who took the name of his predecessor Auxentius and became the leader of the heretics in that town. It was their active support that contributed to the Empress Justina's success in inducing Valentinian II (375–92) to issue an Edict (x. Kal. Feb. 386) granting free right of assembly to the Arians.[1]

Since the death of Theodosius in 395 Stilicho had, in fact, been the virtual ruler of the Western Empire, and his Goths were settled with their families all over the Gothic pale. When, in 408, Stilicho fell to the hatred of his patrician enemies, the wives and children of his Gothic troops were murdered by the mob of Roman legionaries, incited to this atrocious deed by the example of a selfish and ignoble patriotism.

Here, then, we have the possible beginnings of Latin influence on the Bible of the Goths. There was springing up a generation of Goths who were familiar with Latin as a second language, and those of them who had married Italian maids would hear their children lisp the Latin tongue. Arianism, moreover, was still a force in Northern Italy during this time, and the powerful support of the Arian Goths may well have resulted in sympathetic conversation and diplomatic *rapprochements* between the Roman Arians and the Gothic clergy.

Yet these are little more than possibilities; so long as the Goth was a soldier in what was virtually an army of occupation, we think it probable that his religion, as his life, would be organized on a military basis; that his Church Parades would tend to be exclusive to his people, and that the Gospel read by the Padre would be, so to speak, head-quarters issue, and as such less likely to have been tampered with by latinizing priests. So long as the Goths in Italy were but the mercenaries of the Empire, and their sojourn there conditioned by the terms of their service, the Latin version is likely not to have had much, if any, influence upon the Gothic text; and the same applies in the case of auxiliaries on foreign service with the legions throughout the Empire, and to those Ostrogoths who, since the *débâcle* of the Hunnish dominion, had trecked restless through the Balkan provinces until Theodoric the Amal led them into the fair Ausonian fields.

The beginning of the fifth century saw a complete change in the relationship between the Goths and the Latin-speaking world. The foreign mercenaries were masters of the soil; billets now were settled homes, and erstwhile settlements, by the grace of Caesar, became mighty kingdoms. Athaulf in 412 led his Wisigoths into Gaul, where the kingdom of Toulouse, which later came to embrace Spain, maintained

[1] Cod. Theod. xvi. i. 4. Cf. Krafft, pp. 235–6; also C. A. A. Scott, *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*, pp. 162–3.

itself until the Frankish Chlovis, in 507, drove the Wisigoth over the Pyrenees. Contemporaneously with the Goths, the Burgundians settled in the Rhone valley, where their smaller but more compact kingdom continued independent until 534. In 409 we find the Vandals invading Spain, and thirty years later the capture of Carthage by Gaiseric marked the beginning of a powerful Vandal kingdom in Africa. Since 476, under Odovakar, the Goths had been settled in Northern Italy, and when, in 493, Theodoric the Ostrogoth rode triumphing into Ravenna, it was as virtual king in Italy. From this time forth the Goth was master of Rome, and if the conquered Roman was allowed to enjoy the same subject rights as the victorious Goth, it was by the grace of the wise kingship and benevolent despotism of Theodoricus Rex.[1]

When, therefore, we approach the period when the C. A. was written—say, the second quarter of the sixth century—the Burgundian and the Wisigoth had enjoyed over 100 years of settled rule in Gaul and Spain; three generations of Vandals had indulged themselves as masters of luxurious Carthage; and, in Italy, the Ostrogoth had learned to appreciate, at least since 493, the amenities of the *Romana civilitas*. It is therefore in the fifth and sixth centuries that we must seek the conditions in which the Gothic Version came to be assimilated to, and to assimilate unto itself, the Bible of the conquered.

From the general impression we get of the attitude of the Goths towards their Roman co-citizens we should not expect their difference in creed to constitute a serious barrier against the invasion of their text by the Old Latin Version. In Europe, at any rate, we see everywhere admiration for Roman institutions and general tolerance and goodwill towards the orthodox religion. Athaulf, who set out to 'obliterate the Roman name', eventually came to desire nothing more than that his people should live under Roman forms of government,[2] and his marriage, in 414, to Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, may be said to symbolize the civic and political union of Wisigoth and Roman.

The relations between the two peoples in matters of religion are not easy to determine owing to the paucity of records, and to the bitter antagonism of such writers by whom mention is made of Gothic Arianism.[3] Nevertheless, the very meagreness of the evidence to the

[1] 'Tuta est conditio subjectorum, ubi vivitur sub aequitate regnantium': Theodoric to Eustorgius, Bishop of Milan, in Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, i. 9.

[2] Cf. the well-known passage in Orosius, vii. 43, quoted by C. A. A. Scott, p. 174; see also Hodgkin, i. 402 ff.

[3] Cf. Scott, p. 178, who quotes C. J. Revillout, *De l'arianisme des peuples germaniques*: 'Il est donc bien difficile d'établir avec de pareils secours la comparaison des deux églises . . .'

contrary makes it probable that the Wisigoths, like Theodoric later, treated the Catholics with justice and tolerance, with the exception of the persecution of Euric (466–85), of which we have a probably exaggerated and distorted account by Sidonius,[1] who was elected Bishop of Arverna in 472, and who seems otherwise, judging by his voluminous writings, to have had little to complain of in his social and political relations with the heretics.

Euric's persecution was in all probability the outcome of a considerable measure of provocation from the orthodox Church, even as Justin's repression of the Arians (524) goaded the aged Theodoric, worn out by toil and embittered by his lifelong struggle against the ingratitude of the Catholics whom he had shielded and befriended, to the regrettable persecutions of his last days.[2]

At the Burgundian court Catholicism met with more than sympathy. Clothilde was brought up, as were her sisters, in the orthodox Faith, and was thus ultimately responsible for the conversion, in 496, of her husband Clovis to the Catholic Church, which contributed so powerfully to the overthrow of the Goths.[3] Clothilde was the niece of Gundobad, whose son Sigismund, son-in-law to the great Theodoric, was also a convert to the Roman Church, and succeeded his father in 516.[4]

Theodoric's extraordinary tolerance towards the Catholics is a fact attested by all, and the conduct of the Gothic troops in this respect, and of the chaplains who accompanied the armies, even in the early days, must have been exemplary in view of the attitude of such as the saintly Epiphanius and the Archbishop of Ravenna. When Theodoric, on the 5th of March, 493, rode into Ravenna at the head of his victorious army, the Archbishop went forth to meet him 'with crosses and thuribles and the Holy Gospels', and prostrated himself before the King, 'in order to impress vividly on the minds both of Italians and Ostrogoths that Theodoric came as the friend of the Catholic Church'.[5]

All this is in striking contrast with the attitude of the Vandals which, if we are to believe the historians, was characterized by a ferocious intolerance equalled only by their rabid lust of plunder.

Theodoric's tolerance was extended even to the Jews, for not only did he permit them to worship in their synagogues, but he also defended them from the malice of their enemies and punished their persecutors. His nobility and native simplicity of mind alike find expression in his letters. His note to the Jews of Genoa (*Var.* ii. 27), permitting them to

[1] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* vii. 6; cf. also Hodgkin, ii. 497 ff.; Scott, p. 184 ff.
[2] Hodgkin, iii. 510 ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 380, 397.
[4] Ibid., p. 408.
[5] Ibid., pp. 221, 234.

repair, but not to extend, their synagogue, concludes with the magnificent apophthegm, 'Religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat invitus'. Writing to the Jews of Milan (*Var.* v. 37), confirming previous concessions, he addresses to them the sorrowful question, 'Sed quid, Iudace, supplicans temporalem quietem quaeris, si aeternam requiem invenire non possis?' If such was his attitude towards the unbelieving Jew, how much more was he not willing to do for the Catholics, for whose shrines he gave great gifts of money, to whose Bishops he entrusted treasure to distribute (*Var.* ii. 8).

It is evident from all that this great ruler said and did—witness alone the letters of Cassiodorus—that he was laying the foundations of a great and abiding kingdom, and that, whilst the fusion of the two nations may have been at the time beyond the scope of practical politics, he yet ambitioned the complete union, at some future time, of Goth and Roman.[1] And it is more than probable that this unifying policy reflected itself in the text of the Gothic Bible. There was growing up a generation of Goths to whom Latin was a second language, and this made bilingual copies of the Bible desirable, indeed necessary.

This need is well illustrated by a letter of Theodoric (*Var.* iv. 12) addressed to 'Marabado viro illustri, comiti et Gemello viro senatori', the one evidently a Goth, the other a Roman, commanding them to try the cause between a certain Archotamia and her daughter-in-law Aetheria: 'Sublimitatis vestrae iudicio hanc causam legibus committimus audiendam, ut omni incivilitate submota, *mediis sacrosanctis Evangeliis*, cum tribus honoratis, quos partium consensus elegerit, qui legum possint habere notitiam, quidquid prisci iuris forma constituit inter eos, considerata disciplina nostri temporis, proferatis.'

A bilingual copy of the Scriptures was obviously indispensable in a court of law where the presidents of the court were Goth and Roman, and where, no doubt, litigants and witnesses of both nations were heard.[2] We possess fragments of two such Gothic-Latin bilinguals in the Wolfenbüttel and Giessen palimpsests, the latter found so far afield as Egypt. The Codex Gissensis was by Glaue assigned to the fifth century, but the latest scrutiny, by R. v. Heckel, makes the sixth century more probable, and emphatically excludes the beginning of the fifth century, the date favoured by Glaue. The Wolfenbüttel fragment (*Cod. Caro-*

[1] Cf. Hodgkin, iii. 277.

[2] The practice of swearing by the Gospels is very ancient. Cf. Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, Homil. 15 ε'. Συ δε ει μηδεν ετερον, αυτο γουν το βιβλιον αιδεσθητι ο προτεινεις εις ορκον, και το ευαγγελιον, ο μετα χειρας λαμβανων κελευεις ομνυναι, αναπτυξον κτλ. The Lombards also swore the greater oaths on the Gospels. See also Du Cange s.v. *Jurare*, *Juramentum*.

linus) is by the same critic with some confidence assigned to the fifth century.[1]

It is inevitable, in a bilingual, that mutual influence should make itself felt, and that process may well have been fostered by the comparatively friendly relations existing between the Gothic clergy and their Catholic rivals, who would view with satisfaction the use, among the Goths, of a Latin text, if only as an auxiliary, and whose missionary zeal[2] may have pointed to the popularization of the Latin Version among the Goths as a stepping-stone, however remote, to their eventual conversion.

There was also a number of Roman Arians who would avail themselves of the protection of the Goths, as at Ravenna, and even worship in their churches, where, indeed, there may have been found good Catholics who—if we are to believe the Massilian presbyter Salvianus[3]—had attached themselves to the barbarian in order to escape from the tyranny of their own people.

Not only were conditions favourable to the occasional conformation of the Gothic text to the Latin; Theodoric may, in pursuance of his general policy, have encouraged, if not ordered, a revision on these lines. Unfortunately there is nothing in the *Variarum* of Cassiodorus that throws any light upon this question; indeed, Theodoric seems to have taken care not to invite denominational discord by referring to such matters in his official correspondence.

The two bilinguals that may clearly be recognized in the composition of the C. A. mark two stages in the textual history of the Gothic bilinguals. The Palatinian, the earlier of the two (see pp. 195, 215), shows the Gothic text adapting itself to the Latin, not without in its turn affecting its partner; with the Brixian, we have reached a later stage in the development of the Gothic text. The latinization of the Gothic was largely an accomplished fact, and it seemed desirable to answer the challenge of conservative criticism by proving, by means of '*wulþres*' the essential coincidence in meaning of the Gothic and Latin with one another and with the Greek, and to condemn, in well-defined but measured terms,

[1] See *E.B.* § 11.

[2] Cf. Walafrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis*, c. 7, in *M.G.H., Capitul. Reg. Franc.*, ii. 481, 'Si autem quaeritur, qua occasione ad nos [*scil.* Theotiscos] vestigia haec Graecitatis advenerint, dicendum et barbaros in romana republica militasse et multos praedicatorum Graecae et Latinae locutionis peritos inter has bestias cum erroribus pugnaturos venisse et eis pro causis multa nostros, quae prius non noverant, utilia didicisse, praecipueque a Gothis . . .'

[3] Cf. Salvianus, *De gubern. Dei*, v. 5 (*Corpus Scriptor. Eccles.* viii), 'Ut multi eorum, et non obscuris natalibus editi et liberaliter instituti, ad hostes fugiant . . . et quamvis ab his, ad quos confugiunt, discrepent ritu, discrepent lingua . . . malunt tamen in barbaris pati cultum dissimilem quam in Romanis iniustitiam saevientem. Itaque passim vel ad Gothos . . . vel ad alios ubique dominantes barbaros migrant.'

the reactionary renderings that the die-hards of the time would fain have reintroduced, and here, perhaps, we may venture to see the guiding hand of Theodoric. It is enough, however, for the present, to have shown that there were, for 125 years before the C. A. came to be written, influences tending towards the latinization of the bible-texts of Burgundians, Wisigoths, and Ostrogoths. And with these we ought, perhaps, to include the Vandals.

XIII

THE PALATINIAN BILINGUAL.

§ 1. Αρχιερευς.

The latinizing of the Gothic Gospels went beyond the obvious changes of a purely textual nature—such as additions and omissions, or alterations of the original word-order in conformity with the Latin—that can be shown to be due to the partial assimilation of the two versions. Even the Gothic renderings reflect the work of theologians of increasingly latinizing tendencies.

Before reviewing the whole of the material illustrating this chapter in the history of the Gothic Bible, we must consider separately the renderings of the word ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ, which is one of the most remarkable and puzzling words we have had to deal with. One would think that such a word, being a technical term of perfectly definite meaning, would have been uniformly rendered throughout the whole Bible; we should at least expect any differences in the rendering of such a word to have been levelled out wherever the four Gospels were brought together in one Codex, so long, at least, as they were referred to their Greek origin. Uniformity of rendering certainly obtains in the case of *αγγελος* (angel), *αποστολος*, *αναστασις*, *βαπτιζειν*, *βαπτιστης*, *βαπτισμα*, *γραμματευς*, *διαβολος*, *διδασκαλος*, *θεος*, *ιερευς*, *ιερον* (one exception), *κυριος*, *μαθητης*, *μετανοια*, *νομος*, *ουρανος*, *παραβολη*, *προφητης*, *τελωνης*.

The renderings, in the C. A., of the word *αρχιερευς* are as follows:—

auhumists gudja	1.6.3.18	= 28
maists gudja	– 3.– –	= 3
reikists gudja	– 1.– –	= 1
auhumists weiha	– 1.– –	= 1
ufargudja	– – – 1	= 1
gudja	4.5.1. 2	= 12
		46

The renderings occur in the following passages:—

auhumists gudja: M. xxvii. 62; J. vii. 32, 45; xi. 47; xii. 10; xviii. 10, 19; L. iii. 2; xix. 47; xx. 19; Mk. viii. 31; xi. 18, 27; xiv. 43, 47, 53 (*bis*), 54, 55, 60, 61, 63, 66; xv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 31. [Note *gudjane auhumistans* in Mk. xi. 18].

maists gudja: J. xviii. 24, 26; xix. 6.
reikists gudja: J. xviii. 22.
auhumists weiha: J. xviii. 13.
ufargudja: Mk. x. 33.
gudja: M. xxvii. 1, 3, 6, 12; J. xviii. 3, 15 (*bis*), 16, 35; L. ix. 22; Mk. ii. 26; xiv. 10.

Now the rendering *auhumists gudja* is perfectly sound, whilst the variants *maists gudja*, *reikists gudja*, *auhumists weiha*, *ufargudja*—of which all but the last are in John—are correct but curious deviations from what was probably the original and uniform rendering. We have often noticed, in John, a fondness for trivial variations from the norm (cf. p. 160, and note).[1]

The chief difficulty is to account for the untypical and inaccurate *gudja*, which elsewhere regularly and correctly renders ιερευς. The rendering is so untypical of Wulfilian workmanship that we must look to external influences for an explanation. Curiously enough, the renderings of αρχιερευς in the Old Latin are also very numerous and very puzzling. We quote from *O. L. B. T.*, vol. ii., Addenda (H. J. White), p. 139: 'Whereas in St. Matthew the standing rendering of αρχιερευς is *princeps sacerdotum*, e and k have once each *sacerdos* out of 5 places only[2] in which they are extant; in St. Mark *sacerdos* occurs once in all the leading MSS.[3] and 3 times only in k, *pontifex* 16 times in k, 4 times in a, and once in Cod. Amiatinus, *summus sacerdos* 19 times in d, 17 times in Am., 4 times out of 12 in f, 3 times out of 5 in b, and twice out of 20 times in a or n, *pontifex sacerdotum* 3 times in a alone, *princeps sacerdotum* 7 times in a, 6 times in f, twice in Am., and once (not exactly) in d; in St. Luke *pontifex* occurs every time but once in a, and 4 times (*pont. sacerdotum* once) in e, *princeps sacerdotum* constantly in b d, and almost constantly in f Am.; in St. John *princeps sacerdotum* is still the dominant rendering, but *pontifex* occurs 3 times in b, 6 times in e, and again—strange to say—18 times in Am., *princeps* alone 4 times out of 7 in d, and *sacerdos* also sporadically.'

A collation from Hans von Soden's text gives the following renderings of αρχιερευς in the African Version:—

princeps sacerdotum	4.5.9. 0.
pontifex	0.6.4.16. [+ L. xix. 47 *pontifices sacerdotum*]
sacerdos[4]	4.3.1. 2.

[1] All but the last occur in the comparatively short passage J. xviii. 3–xix. 6. The rendering *gudja*, in M. and J., is found in two groups of short compass.
[2] Hans v. Soden's text reads *sacerdos*, M. ii. 4 (k); xvi. 21, xxvii. 3, xxviii. 11 (e); *princeps sacerdotum*, M. xxi. 15, 23, 45 [*pr. et sacerdotibus*, xx. 18].
[3] Viz., Mk. ii. 26 (f, *sub Abiathar sacerdotem*: cf. C. A. *uf Abiaþara gudjin*.
[4] *Sacerdos* alone occurs in the following passages: In k: M. ii. 4; Mk. xiv. 47,

In the Vulgate the picture is somewhat different. The rendering *sacerdos* disappears, as was to be expected.

princeps sacerdotum	24. 1.14. 2.
pontifex	– 19. – 1.
summus sacerdos	– – 1.17.
princeps	– 1. – –

Whatever the reason for the variation, in the Argentean John, of the Gothic renderings: whether they are after the Latin or not,[1] it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *gudja* represents the Old Latin *sacerdos*, which seems to be most at home in the African version,[2] judging by the figures we quoted just now. It is worth noting that the African *sacerdos* has invaded all the four Gospels, whereas usually the influence of e is practically confined to Luke.

Another word whose renderings seem to reflect the general influence of the Old Latin is δοξαζειν, which appears in the Codex Argenteus as

hauhjan	2.13.1.0.
mikiljan	1. 0.5.1.
gaswerjan	– 3.– –
awiliudon	– – – 1

Awiliudon (L. xviii. 43) is an erroneous reading (p. 135). Note also the conflation (Mk. ii. 12) *hauhidedun mikiljandans guþ*: see p. 222. *Hauhjan* would seem to be the normal rendering, with *gaswerjan* in J. perhaps as a stylistic variant. *Mikiljan*, however, seems to derive from the Old Latin *magnificare*. The following is a summary of the tabulated list given in *O.L.B.T.* vol. iii, pp. xxiii–xxiv, of the renderings of δοξαζειν in the Old Latin.

	a	b	d	e & k	f	q	Am.
clarifico	–	16	–	13 5	15	–	8
glorifico	3	–	19	10	10	–	20
honorem accipio	1	–	1*	–	–	–	–
honorifico	24	9	12	2	3	18	2
honoro	2	–	3	1	–	–	–
magnifico	4	11	–	5	9	11	7

**gloriam accipio* d.

xv. [11], 31; in e: M. xvi. 21; xxvii. 3; xxviii. 11; J. xi. 47; xix. 15. 21; L. xxiv. 20. I have not counted Mk. xv. 11, which in k shows confusion with the end of the previous verse, reading *tradebant eum principes. Sacerdotes autem* . . . with which cf. ff[2] *tradiderant eum principis sacerdotum. Principis autem sacerdotum* . . . See also Hans von Soden, *L.N.T.*, p. 238. 1.

[1] Thus *reikists gudja* may be an assimilation to *princeps sacerdotum*; (*auhumists*) *weiha* an attempt at rendering (*princeps*) *sacerdotum*; *ufargudja* perhaps = *pontifex*.

[2] Cf. also Cypr. iii. 2. 14, p. 80. 4 (see *L.N.T.*, p. 420), quoting—though not verbatim—M. xxvii. 3–4 *Iudas paenitentia ductus sacerdotibus* (– αρχιερευσιν) *et senioribus dixit.*

It will be seen that *clarifico* is the characteristic African rendering,[1] *magnifico* being common to all the MSS. cited except d. It seems not improbable that the rendering *mikiljan* was peculiar to Luke, whence it was levelled out into the parallels M. ix. 8 and Mk. ii. 12: see p. 238. It is interesting to note that wherever the C. A. reads *mikiljan* (ignoring the conflate Mk. ii. 12), viz. M. ix. 8; L. ii. 20; iv. 15; v. 25, 26; vii. 16, the Codex Brixianus reads *magnificare*, which also occurs there in L. xvii. 15 and xviii. 43, where the C. A. has *hauhjan* and *awiliudon*.

§ 2. *Gothic renderings and the Old Latin.*

We now come to the renderings which seem to reflect the mutual influence upon one another of the Gothic and Old Lat. versions. Not all of these are equally convincing, whilst a number must be relegated to the border-line of the doubtful. In some passages, where the C. A., e, and f stand alone, it is quite uncertain whether the reading of C. A. is from the Latin, or vice versa, though in a few cases the latter seems more probable.

The four passages from M. x. 34; J. x. 1; L. x. 10, and Mk. iii. 10 are peculiarly interesting, as showing what pitfalls lay in wait for the Goth who attempted to harmonize his text with the Latin without reference to the *graeca veritas*. At least the last passage betrays a misinterpretation of Lat. *plaga*, which ultimately lost—and in the emendator's speech had perhaps already lost—the meaning 'blow, buffet', in which sense it came to be replaced by *colaphus* (κολαφος), whence It. *colpo*, Fr. *coup*. To the revisor the word meant 'wound' (Fr. *plaie*), and the result was *wundufnjos*, without reference to μαστιγας in the Greek.

In L. x. 10 may be preserved an early use of Lat. *platea* in the sense 'προπυλον, *area pro aedibus*'. It is difficult otherwise to explain *fauradauri* as a translation of πλατεια. Cf. Gregorius Turinensis, *Hist.* II. xxxi, '*Velis depictis adumbrantur plateae ecclesie*', quoted by Du Cange, who adds '*porticus interiores interpretor*'. Also Forcellini, s.v. *platea*, '*Quandoque etiam capitur pro area in mediis aedibus; cortile*'. In the following passage from *Scriptor. rerum Meroving.*, vol. v, p. 670 (*M. G. H.*), *platea* may perhaps be similarly interpreted: '*Vident a longe domum auream ac perveniunt usque ad plateam, quae ante praefatam domum sita erat, et ipsa auro gemmisque strata.*'

We will now illustrate the whole material in detail.

[1] See *O.L.B.T.* iii, p. xxiv; also Hans v. Soden, *L.N.T.*, pp. 239 note 1, and 325.

M. vi. 26 μαλλον διαφερετε *mais wulþrizans sijuþ*, vg. (10 codd.) a c ff[1] q *magis pluris estis ; plures* 15 vg. codd. and b f g[2]. On the other hand, cf. M. x. 31 *batizans sijuþ*, agreeing with vg. f latt. *meliores estis.*

M. viii. 32 ωρμησεν *run gawaurhtedun sis alla so hairda* ; cf. vg. *impetu abiit ; impetum fecit* f k. The parallels L. viii. 33 ; Mk. v. 13 have simply *rann.*

M. ix. 9 παραγων *þairhleiþands*, vg. f *cum transiret.* The Greek verb = *þarbon* 4/6 including the parallel Mk. ii. 14 *þarbonds.*

M. x. 34 ουκ ηλθον βαλειν ειρηνην αλλα μαχαιραν *ni qam lagjan gawairþi, ak hairu*, vg. f latt. *mittere pacem.* An extraordinary phrase, influenced perhaps by the later sense of *mittere* = *ponere* (French *mettre*). Similarly M. v. 25 *in karkara galagjaza*, M. vi. 30 *in auhn galagiþ*, M. vii. 19 *in fon atlagjada* (so also J. xv. 6 ; L. iii. 9) seem to simulate the Latin *in carcerem mittaris, in clibanum mittitur, in ignem mittitur*, where *mittere*, however, = 'to throw'. It is hard to believe that *lagjan* ever developed the meaning 'throw', unless it was in the language of the camp, after the Latin. It is very much to be doubted whether the last 5 passages represent the Wulfilian text.[1]

M. xi. 7 τουτων δε πορευομενων *at þaim þan afgaggandam*, vg. f *illis* (*his* k) *autem abeuntibus.* Πορευεσθαι elsewhere = *gaggan* 45/50. Cf. the parallel L. vii. 24 απελθοντων *galeiþandam, discessissent*, by which the present passage may have been affected, although the correspondence of *afgaggandam* with *abeuntibus* makes Latin influence rather more likely ; as representing a durative simplex, *afgaggandam* is very unlikely to be the original rendering.

M. xxvii. 58 εκελευσεν αποδοθηναι το σωμα *uslaubida giban þata leik*, vg. *iussit reddi* : *dari* DELQR vg. and f g[2] h r r[2] δ gat. *Atgiban* (*usgiban*) was to be expected : cf. L. vii. 15 *atgaf* (απεδωκεν) *ina aiþein is* ; L. ix. 42 *atgaf* (απεδωκεν) *ina attin is.* Also Mk. xv. 45 εδωρησατο το σωμα *fragaf.* For the curious *uslaubida* see below, page 229.

J. vi. 45 πας ουν ο ακουων παρα του πατρος και μαθων ερχεται προς με *hazuh nu sa gahausjands at attin jah ganam gaggiþ du mis*, vg. f *qui audivit a patre et didicit* (*didicerit* a b d). The anacoluthic *ganam* should be corrected to *ganimands.* The present reading perhaps is after Lat. *didicit.* So Ags. Gosp. *and leornode.*

J. vii. 13 παρρησιᾳ ελαλει *balþaba rodida*, vg. *palam ; fiducialiter* f, *audenter* e, *constanter* q. Elsewhere the Greek adverb is translated *andaugiba* (*-jo*) 5 times, *swikunþaba* once. *Balþaba* seems to be after *audenter* ; f after Goth. The reading is probably suggested by the

[1] The *Ags. Gospel* renderings are : M. x. 34 *to sendanne* ; M. v. 25 *send*, vi. 30 *asend* ; M. vii. 19, L. iii. 9 *on fyr aworpen* ; J. xv. 6 *doð on fyr.*

following context δια τον φοβον κτλ. The agreement of C. A., e f in John is unusual; cf. J. viii. 55 and xvi. 21.

J. viii. 55 και ουκ εγνωκατε αυτον *jah ni kunnuþ ina ; iþ ik kann ina*, vg. *cognovistis* ; *nescitis* f ; *scitis* e ; *cognoscitis* J l. Here *kunnuþ* (for *uf kunnþeduþ* or *kunþeduþ*) may be from the Old Latin, unless it has been influenced by the following *kann*.

J. x. 1 εις την αυλην των προβατων *in gardan lambe*, vg. f *ovile ovium* ; *cohortem* b c e ff² q. (Cf. J. x. 16 της αυλης *þis awistris*.) The weak form *garda* occurs only here, and possibly translates *cohortem*, replacing an original *awistr*.

J. x. 21 ουκ εστιν δαιμονιζομενου *unhulþon habandins*, vg. f *daemonium habentis* (so Mk. i. 32). Elsewhere δαιμονιζων = *daimonareis* 4.0.1.0. *woþs* 3 times in Mk.

J. xii. 42 ινα μη αποσυναγωγοι γενωνται *ei us swnagogein ni uswaurpanai waurþeina*, vg. *ut de synagoga non eicerentur*, similarly f latt. (*expellerentur* q). Cf. J. ix. 22 *utana swnagogais wairþai*, vg. f *extra syn. fieret* (*eiceretur* &c. a d e l r) where the original rendering is preserved.

J. xvi. 2 αποσυναγωγους ποιησουσιν υμας *us gaqumþim dreiband izwis*, vg. *absque synagogis facient vos ; de syn. vos expellent* f, *removebunt vos* r, *expulerunt vos a synagogis* e, *eicient* d l q. The Old Lat. order varies ; C. A. follows the Greek order, but *dreiband* is after the Latin; cf. J. ix. 22 ; xii. 42.

J. xvi. 21 γεννησῃ *gabauran ist*, vg. latt. *pepererit : natus fuerit* (*est* e) e f. The passive is due to. the following context (cf. chap. xvii, p. 234), the relations between C. A. e f being uncertain, though f is probably after the Gothic.

L. i. 9 ελαχεν του θυμιασαι *hlauts imma urrann du saljan*, vg. *sorte exiit ut*, cum codd. vg. vett. : *sors* (+*illi* e) *exiit ut incensum poneret* e f q. Here the Gothic has been modelled on the Latin. Note that *imma* becomes syntactically necessary to supplement the infinite *du saljan* ; no pronoun is needed in the Latin, since *sors exiit* is followed by a finite verb (*ut* &c.). In e, however, *illi* is an intrusion from the Gothic, the result of the Palatinian Bilingual.

L. i. 63 και αιτησας πινακιδιον εγραψεν λεγων *iþ is sokjands spilda* [*nam*] *ga*[*h*]*melida qiþands* ; vg. f *et postulans pugillarem scripsit dicens ; et accepit pugillarem et* b c ff² l q r ; *cum petisset tabulam* d ; the Codex Palatinus reads *ille autem petiit pugillares et scripsit*. Αιτειν 'to ask' is rendered by *bidjan* 21/23 times, whilst *sokjan* = -ζητειν except here and Mk. xi. 24 (see p. 80). Here *sokjands* is an inaccurate reproduction of the Palatinian *petiit*, just as the words *iþ is* derive from the

isolated *ille autem* of e. The Wulfilian reading was *jah bidjands spilda gamelida*, becoming *ip is sokjands spilda gamelida*, *sokjands* being a compromise between the form *bidjands* and the misinterpreted *petiit* of the Palatinian Latin. The redundant *nam* is of later, perhaps post-Brixian, origin; otherwise we shall have to assume that the conflation remained uncorrected for a considerable length of time, surviving both the Palatinian and the Brixian bilinguals. The Old Latin *accepit* accounts for the intruded *nam* (intended to replace *sokjands*), whilst (*ga*)*h*(*melida*), [or *jah* (*gamelida*)] formally corresponding to *et scripsit*, would in any case become necessary to make intelligible the intrusion of *nam* in its present position.

L. ii. 3 εις την ιδιαν πολιν *in seinai baurg*, vg. f *in suam civitatem.* Ιδιος elsewhere = *swes* 5/6 (e. g. L. vi. 44).

L. ii. 8 ποιμενες ησαν . . . αγραυλουντες *hairdjos wesun . . . þairhwakandans jah witandans wahtwom nahts*, vg. f *vigilantes et custodientes vigilias noctis; pernoctantes et custodientes nocturnas vigilias* e. Here αγραυλουντες 'abiding in the fields' is replaced by a word more in keeping with the following context, after the Lat. *vigilantes*. Perhaps *þairhwakan* was a military term = *pervigilare*. Cf. L. vi. 12, where it translates διανυκτερευειν, vg. latt. *pernoctare*. So here *pernoctantes* of e may be after the Gothic, although the converse is not excluded, having regard to the isolated *nocturnas vigilias* against rell. *vigilias noctis* (p. 185).

L. ii. 10 ευαγγελιζομαι υμιν *spillo izwis*, vg. *evangelizo vobis*, *adnuncio* e f Cypr., *nuntio* gat. Ευαγγελιζεσθαι = *wailamerjan* 8/11, *waila-*, *þiupspillon* 2/11. *Adnuntiare* (side by side with *benenuntiare*) is a characteristic of the African text (see *L.N.T.* 237, note 3) whence the C. A. *spillo* in the present passage.

L. ii. 12 βρεφος . . . κειμενον εν φατνη *bigitid barn . . . galagid in uzetin*, vg. f latt. *positum*. But cf. v. 16 *barn ligando in uzetin*, vg. f latt. *positum*. *Ligando* is the original reading; *galagid* is after the Latin *positum*.

L. ii. 23 παν αρσεν *hvazuh gumakundaize*, vg. a f *omne masculinum; masculum* gat b c ff^2 l q; *masculus* e r. Such a rendering is foreign to Gothic technique; cf. Mk. x. 6 αρσεν *gumein*.

L. iii. 23 υιος Ιωσηφ, του Ηλει, κτλ. *sunaus Heleis*, vg. *qui fuit Heli*: *qu fuit* b c l q aur, *filius* ff^2 r, *filii* e f. Von Soden's comment (p. 1470) is 'stets add. υιου του post του', an addition which in Gothic seems almost inevitable, unless indeed, in an excess of literalism, the Goth were to write *þis Heleis*, *þis Maþþatis* &c., which sounds intolerable. Perhaps *filii* (e f) is after the Gothic; but see below, p. 185.

L. iv. 19 αποστειλαι τεθρανσμενους εν αφεσει *fraletan gamaidans in gaþrafstein*, vg. *dimittere confractos in remissionem*: *in requiem* G Q a e f ff² l.

The group *ga*)*þrafsteins, ana-, ga-þrafstjan* connotes comfort, peace, παρακλησις &c. (see *W.B.*), and the choice of *gaþrafsteins* here betrays the influence of the Old Latin *in requiem*; we should have expected *in afleta* as in L. i. 77 *in afleta frawaurhte ize*. *Fraletan*, moreover, is an unusual rendering of αποστειλαι, for which we find *in*)*sandjan* 58/60, although here *fraletan* makes a much better rendering, and may have led to the avoidance of the correct and obvious *afleta* (cf. Bernhardt, ad loc.).

L. v. 15 διηρχετο δε ο λογος μαλλον περι αυτου *usmernoda þan þata waurd mais bi ina*, vg. *perambulabat; et divulgabatur* f, *divulgabatur autem magis deo sermone* (? *de eo sermo*) e. Whether the reading of C. A. is reminiscent of L. i. 65 διελαλειτο . . . τα ρηματα *merida wesun alla þo waurda* (divulgabantur) or, more remotely, of L. iv. 37 εξεπορευετο ηχος περι αυτου *usiddja meriþa fram imma* (cf. also Mk. i. 45), or whether it derives from the Palatinian, is not quite certain, although the second alternative seems more probable. A literal rendering like *þairhiddja, usiddja þan þata waurd* would have stood quite well.

L. v. 26 και εκστασις ελαβεν απαντας *jah usfilmei dissat allans*, vg. f *et stupor adprehendit omnes* (om. e). Herewith we will consider also the following:—

L. vii. 16 ελαβεν δε φοβος παντας *dissat þan allans agis*, vg. *accepit autem omnes timor; adprehendit* f; *invasit* c e.

Mk. xvi. 8 ειχεν δε αυτας τρομος και εκστασις *dizuhþansat ijos reiro jah usfilmei*, vg. latt. *invaserat*; *tenebat* k.

L. v. 9 θαμβος γαρ περιεσχεν αυτον *sildaleik auk dishabaida ina*, vg. *stupor enim circumdederat; habebat* e; *pavor enim detinebat* f.

L. i. 12 φοβος επεπεσεν επ' αυτον *agis disdraus ina*, vg. *inruit* (*cecidit* b c f ff² l q r aur) *super eum; timor invasit illum* e.

L. viii. 37 φοβῳ μεγαλῳ συνειχοντο *agisa mikilamma dishabaidai wesun*, vg. f *tenebantur*.

Whatever the Gothic *dissitan* may mean, it does not directly render λαβειν nor exactly equal '*ergreifen*' (*W.B.*). Whilst in *disdailjan, dishnupnan, disskreitan, disskritnan, distahjan, distairan, distaurnan*, the prefix *dis-* means 'asunder', we have *disdriusan* = επιπεσειν L. i. 12, *dishaban* = περιεχειν L. v. 9, συνεχειν L. viii. 37 and twice (= '*behalten, festhalten*' *W.B.*) in the Epistles, *dishuljan* = καλυπτειν L. viii. 16, and *disnimandans* = κατεχοντες 2 Cor. vi. 10. In these cases *dis-* functions as an intensive prefix, so that *disdriusan* = 'to fall upon, to attack, to over-

whelm' Ger. *überfallen;* *dishaban* = 'to seize utterly, to gain complete possession of.'

Taking *dis-* in this sense, *dissitan* may be a military term approximately = 'to besiege, to occupy', after Lat. *obsidere, circumsidere,* in which sense περιεχειν is also used.

Coming to the passages under discussion, it will be seen that *dissitan, dishaban* are excellent renderings in their contexts. In the case of the first two, the usual renderings of λαβειν were not available; an inspection of the uses of *niman* (*andniman*) shows that the general sense is 'to take unto oneself; to accept; to pick up'; whilst *greipan* is used only in the physical senses of κρατειν, κτλ. and *fahan* means 'to catch.'

If, however, επιπιπτειν = *disdriusan*, and περι- συνεχειν = *dishaban*, why do we find *dissat* (instead of *dishabaida*) for ειχεν in Mk. xvi. 8? And why *dissat*, rather than what seems the more exact *dishabaida*, for ελαβεν in L. v. 26, and vii. 16? The rendering may in the first instance have been suggested by the vg. latt. *invaserat*, and in L. vii. 16 by the same rendering of c e. The other passage, wanting in e, has no Latin support, but may have been affected by the Palatinian, whence also *wulþaga*: see next.

L. v. 26 ειδομεν παραδοξα σημερον *gasaihvam wulþaga himma daga*, vg. f *mirabilia*: *praeclara* e. *Wulþags* correctly translates ενδοξος = *gloriosus* (cf. *wulþus* δοξα). Now, the renderings *wulþaga* and *praeclara* for παραδοξα present exactly the same error, but since *claritas, clarificare* are the specifically African equivalents of δοξα, δοξαζειν (see *L.N.T.*, p. 239 note 1), we must assume *praeclara* to be the original rendering of e, and that the Gothic text has in this passage been assimilated to the Palatinian Latin.

L. vi. 38 μετρον καλον . . . δωσουσιν εις τον κολπον υμων *mitads goda . . . gibada in barm izwarana*, vg. f *dabunt; dabitur* e. The passives *gibada* (δοθησεται), *mitada* (μετρηθησεται) have reacted on the third verb, but since e stands alone, it remains uncertain whether *dabitur* has conformed to the Gothic text or vice versa: but see next.

L. vi. 44 ου γαρ εξ ακανθων συλλεγουσι συκα, ουδε εκ βατου τρυγωσι σταφυλην *ni auk us þaurnum lisanda smakkans, nih þan us aiwatundjai trudanda weinabasja*, vg. *colligunt . . . vindemiant uvam* (*uvas* c); *leguntur . . . vindemiantur uvae* e; cf. also εκλεγονται in D. The parallel in M. vii. 16 also reads *lisanda*. The passives may be due to vague reminiscences of other passages, e.g. M. vii. 19 *usmaitada jah in fon galagjada* may account for the passive *lisanda* in M. vii. 16, whence *lisanda* in L. vi. 44 and, in consequence, the passive *trudanda*, and, possibly,

the reading of e. The reading of D, however, with which the C. A. is often in agreement, and whose Lucan text especially abounds in African readings, lends some support to the view that the Gothic passives are from the Latin of the Palatinian. The C. A. text of M. vii. 16 would then follow the parallel in Luke. Note that C. A. *weinabasja* e *uvae* necessarily become plural when the verb τρυγωσι is translated by a passive. For the rendering *trudanda* see p. 226.

L. vi. 48 ος εσκαψεν και εβαθυνεν *saei grob jah gadiupida*, vg. f. *qui fodit* (*fodiit* f) *in altum*; *qui fodit et fundavit* δ; *qui fodit et exaltavit* e. *Gadiupida* is just what we might expect in Gothic, and e seems to derive from the Gothic rendering the extraordinary *exaltavit*, which not only in it. and vg., but also in e, regularly translates υψουν (see *L.N.T.*, p. 151). The reading of δ is due to the interlinear character of that text.

L. vii. 2 ημελλεν τελευταν *swultawairþja was*, vg. f *erat moriturus, incipiebat mori* a d, *proximus morti erat* c, *moriturus erat* e. Μελλειν is 15/16 times rendered periphrastically by *skulan, skuld ist, munan, haban, skaftjan sik* + infin. This unique rendering, although it may be original, very much recalls the readings of vg. e f.

L. vii. 16 : see L. v. 26 above.

L. vii. 42 μη εχοντων δε αυτων αποδουναι *ni habandam þan* ⟨*im*⟩ *waþro usgebeina*, vg. f *non habentibus* (+*autem* f cum b q r δ) *illis unde redderent* (+*omne debitum* f); *et cum non haberent unde solverent* e. The words *waþro usgebeina* doubtless represent the latt.-vg. rendering, replacing, in the post-Brixian MS. an original *ni habandam þan im usgiban* (cf. L. xiv. 14 *ni haband usgildan þus*). The scribe, seeing the words as a marginal wulþre, thus '.la. *waþro usgebeina*', thought they were meant to replace the last two words *im usgiban*. This would account for the absence of *im* in the C. A. See p. 211, note.

L. viii. 19 ουκ ηδυναντο συντυχειν αυτῳ δια τον οχλον *ni mahtedun andqiþan imma*, vg. e f *adire ad eum*; *accedere* r; *loqui cum* c; *conloqui* a; *contingere* d. *Andqiþan* may in idiomatic Gothic have meant something like 'to speak to by way of greeting or farewell (cf. L. ix. 61 αποταξασθαι *andqiþan* to bid farewell); to accost'. Even so, however, the Gothic more nearly agrees with the Latin of a c than with the Greek.

L. ix. 12 επισιτισμον *matins*, vg. f latt. *escas*. Cf., however, the parallel M. xiv. 15 ινα . . . αγορασωσιν εαυτοις βρωματα, not extant in C. A., whence possibly the present reading.

L. ix. 27 λεγω δε υμιν αληθως εισιν τινες *qiþuh þan izwis sunja : sind sumai*, vg. f *dico autem vobis : vere sunt aliqui*. W.-Wh. '*vere cum seqq. conjunximus cum* A&F (E) Ĵ d (*quoniam vere sunt*) f l δ . . . *cum "vobis" conjungunt* M Y vg. b c e (*veritatem dico vobis sunt*) q.'

The C. A. not only punctuates the passage with b c e q (the Greek may be taken either way), but also agrees with e in rendering *sunja* for αληθως, which elsewhere = *bi sunjai* 9/9 times. Both *sunja* and *veritatem* are equally startling renderings, which can hardly have arisen independently. Since the Gothic text is usually so scrupulously accurate, it seems not unlikely that *sunja* is an accommodation to the text of e.

L. ix. 60 απελθων διαγγελε *gagg jah gaspillo*, vg. f *vade adnuntia, vade et* d e aur; *vadens* c δ (πορευθεις D). Elsewhere απελθειν = *galeiþan* 49/56.

L. x. 10 εξελθοντες εις τας πλατειας αυτης *usgaggandans ana fauradaurja izos*, vg. *in plateas*; *plateis* f. *Fauradauri* seems an impossible equivalent for *platea* in the sense of 'street', in spite of Kauffmann's attempt to explain it as such (*ZfdPh.* xlviii. 362). I suspect that the Latin *platea*, which in Romanic develops the meaning 'place, open space' (cf. Fr. *place*, It. *piazza*, Sp. *plaza*), has here been misinterpreted as 'forecourt, space in front of a house, &c.' Skeat in his Moeso-Gothic Glossary was careful to define the word as 'Place before the gate of a town', which was a step in the right direction. Cf. also Mk. iii. 10 below, and see p. 172.

L. x. 21 ουτως εγενετο ευδοκια εμπροσθεν σου *swa warþ galeikaiþ in andwairþja þeinamma*, vg. f *sic placuit; fuit placitum* F gat (cf. vg. M. xi. 26); *factum placitum* δ; *fuit bona voluntas* i; *placitum factum est* c e; *bona voluntas fuit* b ff² l q r. The parallel M. xi. 26, unfortunately wanting in C. A., = vg. *fuit placitum, complacuit* f. The Latin *placitum* 'that which is pleasing or satisfactory' is the exact equivalent of ευδοκια, and the *fuit placitum, factum* (*est*) *placitum* of the vg. F gat c e are perfectly good renderings of the Greek. The Gothic *warþ galeikaiþ* may be a clumsy imitation of the Latin, construing *placitum* as a past participle.

L. xiv. 32 ερωτᾳ τα προς ειρηνην *bidjiþ gawairþjis*, vg. f *rogat ea quae pacis sunt; pacem* a b c e ff² i l q r. Cf. also L. xiv. 28 (p. 144).

L. xv. 26 ενα των παιδων *sumana magiwe*, vg. f *vocavit unum de servis; pueris* a d e. Παις (boy, son) = *magus* twice in Luke. In the sense servant (= vg. *puer*) we find *þiumagus* 3.0.3.0. Only here does *magus* mean 'servant'. Perhaps *magiwe* is here an accommodation of an earlier *þiumagiwe* to the rendering *pueris* of a d e.

L. xvi. 4 εγνων τι ποιησω *andþahta mik ƕa taujau*, vg. *scio quid faciam; cogitavi*[1] c e f i l r; *cognovi* a b ff² q. *Ufkunþa* would have done quite well here.

[1] Hans v. Soden (*L.N.T.* 146) says '*cogitavi* e Lk. xvi. 4 ist wohl nur ein fehler für *cognovi*,' evidently not having seen the readings of c f i l r.

L. xvi. 20 ος εβεβλητο προς τον πυλωνα αυτου *sah atwaurpans was du daura is*, vg. f *qui iacebat ; missus erat* d ; *proiectus erat* e. Since βεβλησθαι in this sense is elsewhere [1] accurately rendered by *ligan* 4/5 times, we are inclined to ascribe this crude and untypical literalism to the influence of e, since hellenisms of this kind are characteristic of the African version as a whole. (The *missus erat* of d is quite in accordance with the mutually assimilative character of that bilingual.) In the African text the Greek word may have been misinterpreted 'thrown out'—plausibly, in view of the context—for we find *proicere* for ριπτειν in e (L. xvii. 2), also for εξω βαλλειν in Cypr. k e (see *L.N.T.*, pp. 198–9).

L. xix. 31 ο κυριος αυτου χρειαν εχει *frauja þis gairneiþ*, vg. *dominus operam eius desiderat ; dno. necessarius est* f ; *eius opus habet* d ; *necesse habet* δ ; *dno. opus est* r s ; *dns. desiderat illum* e. Χρειαν εχειν κτλ.=*þaurban* &c. 4.2.4.3. = 13/15, and *gairnjan* only here and in the parallel Mk. xi. 3 (q.v., p. 138), which seems to owe its reading to the present passage (p. 239). Here *gairneiþ* apparently derives from e, or from a misunderstanding of the vg. latt. *operam eius desiderat.*

L. xix. 43 περιβαλουσιν οι εχθροι σου χαρακα σοι *bigraband fijands þeinai grabai þuk*, vg. f *circumdabunt te inimici tui vallo ; circumfodient inimici tui fossam* e. Here again *grabai* and *vallo* are witnesses to the Palatinian Bilingual, but it is not certain which reading influenced the other. See also p. 31.

L. xix. 48 ο λαος γαρ απας εξεκρεματο αυτου ακουων *managei auk alakjo hahaida du hausjan imma*, vg. f *suspensus erat audiens illum ; pendebat audiens eum* e ; *audire eum* d (ακουειν αυτου D). The infinitive *du hausjan* appears to derive from the Bezan, that is, from the type of Old Latin text represented by d, and perhaps in post-Palatinian time. Streitberg (*G.B.* note ad loc.) speaks of an 'idiomatische wiedergabe des partizips', but in the three examples he cites in support (L. xviii. 35 ; Mk. x. 46 ; M. xxvii. 49), the infinitives have final force, just as in the present instance the infinitive implies purpose, as does the reading of D ; it is precisely this that renders the passage suspect of alteration. The connexion between *hahaida* and *pendebat* of e and d must remain uncertain. The correct and simple version would be *hahaida hausjands imma*, i.e. 'hung (upon his words) as they listened'.

L. xx. 35 οι καταξιωθεντες του αιωνος εκεινου τυχειν *þaiei wairþai sind þainis aiwis niutan*, vg. f *qui digni habebuntur saeculo illo* (sic codd. plur. vg. latt.) ; *digni fuerint saeculum illum attingere* (*saeculi huius obtinere* d) a d ; *qui habueri(n)t dignationem saeculi illius* Cypr. ; *dignationem fuerint*

[1] Viz., M. viii. 6, 14 ; ix. 2 ; Mk. vii. 30.

saeculi illius habituri e (*fuerint . . . habituri* is the periphrastic future see *L.N.T.*, p. 161).

The Gothic *wairþai sind* agrees with a d e Cypr. (cf. Ags. Gosp. *ða ðe synt þære worulde wyrðe*); we should have expected *þaiei wairþai rahnidai sind*: cf. L. vii. 7 *ni mik silban wairþana rahnida at þus qiman* (ηξιωσα).

Mk. i. 32 δαιμονιζομενους *unhulþons habandans*, vg. f *daemonia habentes*. So also J. x. 21. Elsewhere *daimonareis* 5, and *wops* three times in Mk.

Mk. i. 40 και γονυπετων αυτον και λεγων *jah kniwam knussjands jah qiþands*, vg. f *et genu flexo dixit*; om. G a b c ff² r aur; *et genibus volutans* e. With the rendering of C. A. compare vg. f latt. *genibus provolutus* (*-ans* a) of the parallel M. xvii. 14 (whence perhaps the present rendering), *genibus volutans* of e (Mk. i. 40), and the Bobbiensian rendering of Mk. x. 17 *genibus obsecrans illum* (vg. f latt. *genu flexo*), where the C. A. has simply *knussjands*. In the present passage, *kniwam* seems to be an addition, either after the Latin *genu* (*flexo*), or, what seems doubtful in the absence of further evidence (see p. 242), in conformity with *genibus volutans* of e, which, curiously enough, is reminiscent of *Aeneid* iii. 607 'dixerat, et genua amplexus genibusque volutans haerebat'. This would account for the absence of *kniwam* in Mk. x. 17, taking *knussjan* = 'die bittstellung annehmen', and itself competent to translate γονυπετειν (τινα), just as προσκυνειν is expressed by *inweitan*, the customary kneeling and prostration being in each case too familiar to require to be further expressed. Kögel (*PBB.* vii. 178: see also Streitberg, *IF.* xxiii. 117) argues, from the presence of *kniwam* in Mk. i. 40 'dass dieser begriff in *knussjan* selbst nicht erhalten ist'. One might as well maintain the contrary from the absence of *kniwam* in Mk. x. 17.

Mk. iii. 10 και οσοι ειχον μαστιγας *swa managai swe habaidedun wundufnjos*, vg. f *plagas; flagella* M vg., *verbera* a. Μαστιξ elsewhere = *slahs* o.o.1.2. including the parallel passage L. vii. 21 *gahailida managans af sauhtim jah slahim*. Latin *plaga* has the meanings (1) a blow, (2) a wound (Fr. *plaie*). The Greek word is used only in the sense whip, scourge, plague, and it is clear that here the Gothic *wundufnjos* is a direct translation, or rather mistranslation, of the Latin *plagas*. See p. 172.

Mk. v. 10 ινα μη αποστειλη αυτους *ei ni usdrebi im us landa*, vg. *ne se expelleret; ne expelleret eos* c f ff². Elsewhere the Greek verb regularly = *in)sandjan* 58/60 times.

Mk. ix. 18 ρησσει αυτον *gawairpiþ ina*, vg. (latt. pler.) *allidit*, &c.; *applontat* d. This rendering has benefited by a revision, perhaps with the

Latin text; contrast the parallel L. ix. 42 ερρηξεν αυτον, *gabrak ina*: see p. 134.

Mk. ix. 50 ειρηνευετε *gawairþeigai sijaiþ*, vg. f *pacem habete; pacati estote* k. Cf. *gawairþi haban* Rom. xii. 18, 1 Thess. v. 13 where the vg. reads *pacem habere.*

Mk. xii. 1 και απεδημησεν *jah aflaiþ aljaþ*, vg. f *peregre profectus est, peregrinatus est* k. *Aljaþ* is a needless addition, translating *peregre* (abroad). Cf. L. xx. 9 απεδημησεν *aflaiþ*, agreeing with *peregrinatus est* a d e, against *peregre fuit* vg. f.

Mk. xiv. 11 αργυριον *faihu*, vg. latt. *pecuniam* (so also the parallel L. xxii. 5). Elsewhere *faihu* renders κτηματα, χρηματα. Αργυριον = *silubr* (2) *skattans* (1) in Luke, whilst αργυρια = *skattans* (1) *silubreins* (2) and (M. xxvii. 5) *silubram* (? read *silubreinaim*) in Matthew.

Mk. xiv. 51 εις τις νεανισκος . . . περιβεβλημενος σινδονα *bizwaibiþs leina*, vg. *amictus sindone; circumamictus pallam* k. Similarly Mk. xvi. 5 ειδον νεανισκον . . . περιβεβλημενον στολην λευκην *bizwaibidana*, vg. (f deficit) *coopertum; indutum* k. Elsewhere the Greek verb appears as *wasjan* in M. vi. 29, 31; xxv. 38, 43; J. xix. 2, the vg. f reading being *co*)*operire*; *vestire* e k, except M. vi. 29 *amicire* k, J. xix. 2 *induere* f, *circumdare* vg. e. The passage from Mk. xiv. 51 seems to be after the Old Latin *amictus.*

Mk. xiv. 63 διαρρηξας τους χιτωνας αυτου *disskreitands wastjos*, vg. f *vestimenta sua.* Elsewhere χιτων = *paida* (*tunica*) 1.0.3.1 = 5 6. The sense here certainly demands the general term *wastjos*: cf. τα ιματια H 376 (= Gregory 579).

Mk. xvi. 8 ειχεν δε αυτας τρομος *dizuhþansat ijos reiro*, vg. *invaserat enim eas tremor*: f def.; *tenebat enim* k. This is a vigorous rendering, probably translating vg. latt. *invaserat.* See L. v. 26 (p. 177).

§ 3. *The Palatinian Bilingual.*

The preceding passages fall into two groups, according as the Gothic renderings agree with the Old Latin generally (column A), or with a small group—usually not more than three—of texts (column B). In the following tabular summary, the references in column B are accompanied by the Old Latin MSS. involved.

	A.		B.	
M.	vi. 26	x. 34	viii. 32 f k	
		xi. 7		
	ix. 9	xxvii. 58		
J.	vi. 45	xii. 42	vii. 13 e f q	viii. 55 e f l
	x. 1			
	x. 21	xvi. 2	xvi. 21 e f	
L.	ii. 3	vii. 42	i. 9 e f q	viii. 19 a c
	ii. 8	ix. 12	i. 63 e d	ix. 27 e
	ii. 12	x. 10	ii. 10 e f Cypr.	ix. 60 d e aur
	ii. 23	xiv. 32	iii. 23 e f	x. 21 c e gat δ
	iv. 19	xvi. 4	v. 15 e f	xv. 26 a d e
	vii. 2		v. 26 e (*bis*)	xvi. 20 e d
			vi. 38 e	xix. 31 e
			vi. 44 e (D gr.)	xix. 43 c
			vi. 48 e (δ)	xix. 48 d e
			vii. 16 c e	xx. 35 a d e
Mk.	i. 32	xii. 1	ix. 50 k	
	i. 40	xiv. 11		
	iii 10	xiv. 51		
	v. 10	xiv. 63		
	ix. 18	xvi. 8		

This table illustrates the twofold nature of the contact between the C. A. and the Old Latin; firstly, where the Gothic Gospels have been affected by the Old Latin generally, and secondly, affecting almost exclusively the Gospel of Luke, where the influence proceeds from a small and well-defined group of texts. The most striking feature of the passages cited under column B is the way in which Luke associates itself with two or three Latin texts against the rest. The Palatinus comes in altogether in 20 out of the 21 instances. With reference to the other MSS. concerned, δ, which comes in twice, is an interlinear gloss of the Greek MS. Δ, for which reason its hellenizing renderings often chance to coincide with those of the C. A.

It is somewhat the same with d, which—as in L. xvi. 20 *missus erat*—may sometimes fortuitously concur with the Gothic text; nevertheless, I have the impression that d, where it does not adapt itself to the Greek text,[1] represents (especially in Luke), a type of text which held the field in North

[1] Accommodation has, as is now generally admitted, taken place in both directions, but both R. Harris (*A Study of Codex Bezae*, 1891) and v. Soden (*Schriften d. N.T.* 1323–1340) have shown how extensive is the influence of the Latin partner on the Greek text of this bilingual.

Italy during the time of the occupation by the Goths of Italy and Southern Gaul, and that the use, by the Goths, of such a text in revising their own Gospels, or as the Latin portion of their bilinguals, accounts for many of the numerous readings that C. A. and Codex Bezae have in common.[1]

The other MSS. in question, viz. q and c, are both strongly tinged with africanisms. Of the former, H. J. White (*O.L.B.T.* iii. p. xxi), says: 'Occasionally it presents what appear to be genuine African readings, now and then it agrees with the rather peculiar text of D, and occasionally it stands quite alone.' The African character of portions of c was discussed by F. C. Burkitt in *The Old Latin and the Itala* (see p. 12 and Note III, pp. 35 ff.), where he examines L. xxiv. 36–end.

Lastly there is f, whose readings and renderings, where they agree with C. A. against the rest, have been shown to be under the influence of the Gothic text.[2] There may be found instances where the influence is the other way, but so far none such have come to my notice, although I have not made any specific search for them, and we can safely assume that in the seven passages concerned, viz. J. vii. 13; viii. 55; xvi. 21; L. i. 9; ii. 10; iii. 33; v. 15, the Brixian may be left out of account.

The Argentean Luke, then, would seem to have come into close contact with some MS. akin to the Codex Palatinus, and, bearing in mind what we know of the Brixianus, and having documentary proof of the existence of two bilinguals in the Cod. Carolinus (Romans) and the Giessen fragment (Luke), we are entitled to assume with a great degree of probability that the Gothic text of Luke, as we have it, once formed part of a bilingual of which some near relative of the Codex Palatinus formed the Latin half. This we shall refer to as the Palatinian Bilingual.

The question next arises, of what nature was the relation in the bilingual between the Gothic and the Latin texts? Where the C. A. and e (or e f) agree against all other witnesses it is not always easy, nor even possible, to decide which text influenced the other. In some cases one can be certain that the Gothic has been affected by the African. In the case of L. i. 9, for instance, *sors exivit ut incensum poneret* (e q) = *hlauts urrann du saljan*. The final *ut*-clause could conveniently only be rendered by the infinitive *du saljan*, which, however, necessitated the addition of the pronoun, giving *hlauts imma urrann du saljan*, which, reacting on the text of the Latin portion of the bilingual, accounts for

[1] Odefey (p. 20) inclines to the belief that some of these Western readings go back to—and beyond—the Wulfilian Urtext. The adjustment of claims between the Urtext and the Old Latin is admittedly a difficult business, and awaits a separate investigation, although it may be doubted whether it will be possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to make much headway in this direction. See Appendix.

[2] The credit for this discovery is due to F. C. Burkitt: see *Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 129 (1899).

the *illi* of e, which was unnecessary, and is actually wanting in f q. Again, in L. ii. 10, where *spillo* is a very extraordinary variant in lieu of *wailamerjan*, the Goth has evidently followed the typically African rendering against all other Latin texts and its own Wulfilian norm, and, later, passed on the rendering (*adnuncio*) to the Brixian. The same thing has happened in L. v. 26, where *wulþaga* cannot be anything but the African *praeclara*. We cannot well attribute the atrocious *atwaurpans* (L. xvi. 20) to Gothic workmanship, and feel on that account constrained to derive it from *proiectus* of e, and not conversely. For the same reason L. i. 63 *iþ is sokjands* is traced to the Palatinian *ille autem petiit*, even though the latter stands isolated (see p. 174). The cases of L. vi. 44, x. 21, xv. 26, and xx. 35, are more doubtful, but what evidence there is points in the same direction.

The Gothic text was doubtless not without influence on its Latin partner; we have already mentioned a very probable instance in L. i. 9. In L. ii. 8 *pernoctantes* seems likely to derive from *þairhwakandans* of C. A., although opinion is like to vacillate here also. On the other hand, *exaltavit* (vi. 48) is such a curious rendering that we see it in a very bad imitation of the Gothic *gadiupida*. In L. iii. 23 e f *filii* seems just as reasonable in Latin as *sunaus* is in Gothic, but whereas we do not know what else the Goth could have written, there was *filius*, or *qui fuit*, to choose from in Latin.

Other cases there are in which one is left uncertain which text it was that influenced the other. In L. v. 15, e. g. *usmernoda* may be a Wulfilian rendering, whilst in xix. 43 the sequence *bigraband . . . grabai* seems more likely to have arisen in Gothic; in each case the Palatinus stands alone. The passive in L. vi. 38 conforms to the other passives in the same context, and this is as likely to have happened in the Gothic as in the Latin, just as the passive in v. 44 may have originated independently, although here the agreement of D gr. is slightly in favour of Latin influence, which may in turn reflect upon v. 38. We have similar cases in J. viii. 55 and xvi. 21, where the reading of C. A. may be due to contextual influence. In L. xix. 31 *gairneiþ* is inaccurate and untypical, whilst *desiderat illum* of e stands alone; αληθως in L. ix. 27 is nowhere else rendered by *sunja*, yet the Palatinus reading *veritatem* is also unique, and equally odd. Whilst, therefore, the last renderings—*sunja* and *veritatem*—are extraordinary enough to justify the opinion that they can hardly have arisen independently, one cannot definitely say with which version the reading originated.

The same close connexion between the C. A. and e is reflected by the readings, of which a few that have been touched upon in this book, as well as a number of others, may here find mention.

L. i. 63 και αιτησας *ih is sokjands*, *ille autem petiit* e : see p. 174.

L. i. 70 των απ' αιωνος *þize fram anastodeinai aiwis*, vg. f latt. *qui a saeculo sunt ; a principio* c, *ab initio* l ; *a principio temporis* e, agreeing with C. A.

L. i. 75 εν οσιοτητι και δικαιοσυνη *in sunjai jah garaihtein*, vg. f latt. *in sanctitate et iustitia* : *in veritate et iustitia* e. The readings *sunjai*, *veritate* are not blunders of translation, but are the result of reminiscence (see p. 230) ; we cannot say, however, whether the Gothic or the African is responsible, although their mutual dependence is certain. Odefey (p. 83) describes *sunjai* as a 'missverständnis Wulfilas'. The translator, however, cannot be charged with so crude an error ; it is doubtful whether the reading would have survived even a cursory comparison with the Greek or Latin text, and it is a matter for surprise that it did not disappear during the interval that elapsed between the Palatinian and the C. A.

L. ii. 9 και αγγελος κυριου *ih aggilus fraujins*, vg. f latt. *et ecce angelus dom.* (cf. M. i. 20) ; *angelus autem* (om. *dom.*) e.

L. ii. 21 *þata qiþano* (cf. Sin* το λεχθεν) agrees with e f *quod dictum erat* (p. 71), whilst the rare *faura* in L. xiv. 10 may simulate the unique *coram* of e (p. 109).

L. iii. 23 e agrees with C. A. in the omission of *incipiens*, and in reading *sicut* = *swaei* (pp. 141 f.).

L. v. 6 διερρηγνυτο δε το δικτυον αυτων *swe natja dishnupnodedun ize*, vg. *rumpebatur autem rete eorum* ; *ita ut rumperentur retiae eorum* f ; *ut retia dirumperentur eorum* e. Von Soden cites ωστε τα δικτυα ρησσεσθαι D af f r. Here the Gothic has been influenced by the African text and has handed on the altered reading to f.

L. v. 8 εξελθε απ' εμου *bidja þuk usgagg fairra mis*. Thus also D παρακαλω εξελθε ; c e f (*rogo*) r *oro te exi a me*.

L. v. 19, where e, with *deposuerunt*, shares with C. A. *gasatidedun* a unique reading (p. 142).

L. vi. 9 αποκτειναι *usqistjan*. For the suggestion that the isolated *occidere* of e (vg. latt. *perdere*) derives from the Wulfilian *K-reading αποκτειναι, for which C. A. has the Western απολεσαι (*usqistjan*), see p. 115 (L. xx. 14).

L. vi. 17. The same misconstruction in e and C. A. (p. 142).

L. xvii. 6 υπηκουσεν αν υμιν *andhausidedi þau izwis*, vg. f latt. *oboediret* ; *exaudiet* e. 'To obey' is, everywhere else, *ufhausjan* ; *andhausjan* means 'to hearken unto (a prayer)' = *exaudire*.

L. xix. 23 επι τραπεζαν *du skattjam* (vg. latt. *ad mensam*), from the parallel M. xxv. 27 τοις τραπεζειταις (p. 231), is reflected in the *nummulariis* of e f.

See also Appendix L. i. 14 (e), ii. 9 (e), vi. 23 (e f), x. 18 (e), x. 23. See also L. xiv. 28 (p. 144).

XIV

THE GOTHS AND THE OLD LATIN WITNESSES

When the Italian Goths first came to compare their Gospels with the Latin Version, they would naturally use that type of text which came to their hand in northern Italy. This will sufficiently account for the frequent agreement of C. A. with a b c d e f ff² g i k q, especially noticeable being the groups ade, def, ef, efq, and, sporadically, c, either alone or with one of a, e, f.

In this connexion the question suggests itself, Is it mere chance that the chief witnesses to the Old Latin version should seem to have been the product of those districts of northern Italy—and, in the case of c and possibly d, of southern Gaul—where the Gothic power was always strongest? Let us consider the age and provenance, so far as is known, of the following Old Latin MSS., which include most of those that concern the C. A.

a	Vercellensis	4th cent.	Traditionally written by Eusebius at Vercelli.
b	Veronensis	5th cent.	At Verona; written in silver letters on purple vellum.
c	Colbertinus	12th cent.	Written in Languedoc. Contains many africanisms.
d	Bezae	6th cent.	Perhaps written in southern Gaul; shares many curious readings with C. A.
e	Palatinus	5th cent.	Formerly at Trent. Silver and purple.
f	Brixianus	6th cent.	At Brescia. Silver and purple.
i	Vindobonensis	? 5–6th cent.	Formerly at Naples. Silver and purple.
j	Saretianus	5th cent.	Akin to a b d e. Silver and purple.
k	Bobbiensis	5th cent.	Formerly at Bobbio. Old African text.
q	Monachensis	6–7th cent.	Akin to b and f. Contains africanisms.
s	Fragm. Ambros.	6th cent.	Formerly at Bobbio.

Of these, a b e f j k s, among them the two best representatives of the European, and the only two witnesses of the African, hail from the north of Italy, whilst d and c, each of very great interest in connexion with C. A., are connected with Lyon and Languedoc, and thus suggestively reminiscent of Wisigoth and Burgund. Five of them, b e f i j, are silver and purple MSS., and of these f is held to be the work of the same palaeographical school that was responsible for C. A.

Vercelli, Verona, Trent, Sarzana or Sarrezano, Bobbio, Brescia, were all within the Gothic Pale, and those critics who do not claim southern Gaul for the home of the Codex Bezae, point to northern Italy as its place of origin. Prof. Sanday, for instance, tentatively suggested Ravenna.[1] One is tempted to wonder, therefore, whether the preservation, in just this corner of Europe, of the most important witnesses of the prehieronymian Gospels is not due to the use, by the Arian Goths and Lombards, of the ancient text with which they became familiar in the fourth to sixth centuries.[2]

Let us consider, again, the problem of the Africana. Hans v. Soden (*L.N.T.* 359) says: 'Es lässt sich ja weder von k noch von e, d. h. jetzt den Codices, zeigen, dass sie afrikanischer provenienz sind. Welchen zufällen wir ihre und ihres textes erhaltung verdanken, wird wohl immer unaufgeklärt bleiben.' Why, indeed, should a MS. like k, exhibiting the African text in its most characteristic form, be found on Italian soil at all, when there were, in the fifth century, two native products, the Old Latin, or Vulgata, as it was then called, apparently in general use in the North, and the new work of Jerome, with the authority of the Holy Father himself? Jerome, whatever consideration he showed for the existing *Vulgata Interpretatio*, was ruthless in his treatment of the Africana.[3]

And here we are faced with the vexed question: Do the African and European texts represent two independent translations, or are we to regard the latter as a revision, on Italian soil, of the former? In this case, 'the history of the European text would be that of a continuous development, or rather degeneration, from the African standard'.[4] On the other hand, von Soden shares the opinion of those who believe that the

[1] Kenyon, *Text. Crit. N.T.*, p. 92.

[2] Cf. Odeley, p. 141. 'Ja wir brauchen mit der vermutung nicht zurückzuhalten, dass die übereinstimmung besonders der oberitalienischen Itala-Vulgata-Hss. mit f und dem C. A. . . . z. T. aus direktem einfluss der gotischen lesarten erklärt werden dürfe, natürlich soweit jene Hss. jünger sind.'

[3] Soden, *L.N.T.*, p. 360. 'Hieronymus, der sie vielleicht kennt und gelegentlich benutzt, berücksichtigt sie bei seiner schonung vorhandener übersetzungen gar nicht.'

[4] Burkitt, *Old Latin and Itala*, p. 15.

African and Italian were two independent versions. 'So überraschend es erscheinen mag, das abendland hat sich also den luxus einer zweimaligen übersetzung der Evv. ins lateinische geleistet' (von Soden, p. 1547). Certain it is that k and e are sharply distinct in text, diction, and translation-technique from the texts that go by the name of European, and it is equally clear that they represent a version that was indigenous in Africa and which therefore was in northern Italy an imported article. Is it possible to hazard the conjecture that, whatever the historical relations between the African and European texts may have been, the MS. known as k—of e we shall come to speak presently—represents the African text as imported, or reimported, by the Goths in the fifth century?

The palaeographical peculiarities of these two MSS, it will be remembered, are unique, and have only tentatively been explained. J. Wordsworth (*O.L.B.T.* ii, p. xv) describes the Bobbiensis as an African text 'written by a man who was very ignorant of the Latin language, but who was better acquainted with Greek characters'. He adds 'Tischendorf hazards the same conjecture as he had previously made [1] in regard to the cognate MS., the Palatine Gospels, that it was written in Africa by an Alexandrian calligraph, who was wholly ignorant of Latin.' Sanday (ibid. clv) suggests two explanations of the extraordinary blunders of the scribe of k: 1. That it was copied from an Irish MS.; 2. That it was copied from an early minuscule (? *ante* 500). There follows, on p. clxv, a letter from Sir E. Maunde Thompson, whose opinion had been invited. This scholar cannot commit himself to any conjecture, however. The scribe was, apparently, very ignorant, and his blunders are very largely his own; indeed, they are often so unpalaeographical that no theory will explain them. 'The scribe of k,' adds Thompson, 'who could write down such a line as "*abrode aps te exredist tibi ut sicrcat*" [M. v. 29 *abripe abs te; expedit tibi ut pereat*] would soon be out of his depth with even a faded text.' Of the Palatinus Tischendorf writes [1] 'Quum innumeris scribendi erroribus perquam probabile fiat, codicem ab Afro, non ab Italo exaratum esse: quapropter illud addendum est, post emendationem Italam rursus in Africanam qualemcunque incidisse videri, postremo vero ab homine ut maxime artis scribendi ita minime latinae linguae gnaro multo pulchrius quam emendatius transscriptum esse.'

Having regard to the date and probable provenance of these MSS., and the most extraordinary palaeographical puzzle that they present, and bearing in mind the fact that at some time during the fifth century the

[1] *Wiener Jahrb.* cxx. *Anz. Bl.* (1847), p. 45.
[2] *Evangelium Palatinum* (1847), *Proleg.*, p. xix.

Palatinian Bilingual must have been compiled, it will perhaps not seem too temeritous to hazard yet another conjecture, namely, that both e and k were written by Gothic copyists in the fifth century. A Goth would naturally seem to be better acquainted with Greek characters, which the Gothic letters so much resembled, whilst it is quite possible that there may have been Gothic scribes even at the close of the fifth century, who, having spent most of their lives in the seclusion of an Eastern scriptorium, had never acquired more than a scraping acquaintance with the Latin language. Here, then, may be the answer to Burkitt's question,[1] 'where and why an African text, full of the strange clerical blunders which we find in the text of k, came to be transcribed in the generation before the Saint (Columbanus) was born'.

How and whence the Goths may have obtained this African text we can only guess, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Africana was in use in Spain when the Wisigoths occupied parts of that country in the second decade of the fifth century, and thus found its way into Gaul and Italy. Or, if we take a later date, it may have been the result of the Vandal invasion and settlement of Africa, for there is no reason to suppose that the latinization of the Gothic text began with the Palatinian Bilingual; we believe, rather, that previous to this there had been casual but continued irreptions from the Old Latin.

If, then, the African text of k was an importation incidental to the occupation of Italy and Gaul by the Goths, the possibility suggests itself that the 'europaeanizing' of the Africana, the result of which is seen in e, was the work of the Goths themselves, who, more familiar with the Italian type of text, evolved a compromise such as we find in the Codex Palatinus.[2] This theory will agree with the sporadic (? earlier) africanisms in the four Gospels (p. 183), and the much more frequent (? later) agreements with e in Luke, which Gospel we find to have developed furthest both in vocabulary and text from the original Wulfilian type exhibited in Matthew.

The common Gothic origin of k and e will also explain the curious resemblance between them, in respect of their orthographical vagaries, noticed by Hans von Soden, who says (*L.N.T.*, p. 110), 'Der schreiber war wie der von k des lateinischen wenig kundig und steht diesem an fehlerhaftigkeit kaum nach; dass sich beide hss. sehr ähneln, bleibt interessant, wenn auch die textvarianten in den gemeinsamen stücken es verbieten, sie deshalb gar zu nahe zu verbinden'. Thus also, according

[1] *Old Latin and Itala*, p. 11.

[2] The great majority of the divergencies of e from k are characteristically European. See *L.N.T.*, p. 221, 'Die grosse mehrzahl der abweichungen in e von k charakterisiert sich als europäisch.'

to Sanday (*O.L.B.T.* ii. clvi), the errors of e and k 'seem to be at once partly the same and partly different'. The African version, even in the modified form as we have it in e, was eminently suitable to partner the Gothic in a bilingual, by reason of certain similarities of technique common to the two versions, of which mention has already been made (pp. 33–4). The hellenizing word-order of the African would be especially convenient.

If the Africana was a Gothic importation or reimportation it follows that the African text was not in Italian use at the beginning of the fifth century, and Jerome's neglect of it in revising the Gospels encourages us to extend that term back to the middle of the fourth century. And this seems probable whatever view we take of the problem of the two families of Latin texts[1]; if the European is merely the result of a revision, in Italy, of the African, that revision would be placed by most critics early in, or even before the commencement of, the fourth century, which takes us far beyond the beginnings of the Gothic Version; and in that case an African text of the purity exhibited by k would be, in the fifth century, a curious anachronism which it is not easy to explain except as a reimportation from Africa, and that, most probably, by the Goths. And the fact that only this MS. of comparatively pure type has come down to us, points in the same direction.

That African readings have found their way, in greater or less degree, into all the Old Latin MSS. has been shown by von Soden, who counts in the first four chapters of Matthew 110 (out of 296) African readings—some of them occurring in two, three, or four MSS.—distributed among a b c d f ff^1 g^1 h r^1 q, from which it would seem that the African text had at one time enjoyed some influence, and that it may have affected the Italic text in early times. Indeed, the existing Itala codd. show stronger traces of African influence than of the intrusion of Jerome's Vulgate.[2]

Nevertheless the remarkable correspondence between e and the Codex Bezae—curiously enough, also chiefly in Luke[3]—taken together with the intimate connexion existing between the Palatinian and the Argentean Luke, and the peculiar readings shared by C. A. and D (d), suggest a closer historical relationship between these three MSS. The strong African

[1] Although not competent to argue on this question after such as Hort and Sanday have hesitated to decide, I am inclined, on the evidence presented by these and others, to accept the opinion of von Soden, quoted on p. 189 above. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that the Africana was ever really current in Italy at all.

[2] v. Soden, pp. 1551–2; cf. also Hans von Soden, *L.N.T.*, p. 360.

[3] v. Soden, p. 1335, 'Am deutlichsten tritt es in Lk. hervor, dass der einwirkende lateinische text af ist. Denn hier ist in den Perikopen . . . der text von δ 5 fast wortrecht der von e.'

strain in D may be the direct or indirect result of the africizing of the Old Latin text by the Goths in the fifth century, comparable with their activity in assimilating their own text and the Palatinian. A special scrutiny, with this possibility in view, of D d e and C. A., may throw some light on the problem of the Codex Bezae.[1]

The C. A. furnishes evidence sufficient to show that the Gothic text was subsequently to the original translation compared with the Greek (see chapter xvi, § 4), and from the Preface to the Codex Brixianus we learn that the Greek text was carefully considered by the editors of the Brixian Bilingual. There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that they propagated their own copies of the Greek Scriptures on Italian soil. In this connexion an odd reading of the Greek MS. P raises a point of curious interest. L. ix. 28 εγενετο δε μετα τους λογους τουτους ωσει ημεραι οκτω is in the Gothic translated by *waurþun þan afar þo waurda swe dagos ahtau*. There is nothing remarkable about the plural *waurþun* in the Gothic, it is the most natural rendering possible, although *waurþ* would indeed have given no cause for comment. It is extraordinary, however, to find εγενοντο—which Streitberg has been indiscreet enough to adopt in his text—in the solitary MS. P. Now P and Q, both palimpsests of the sixth and fifth centuries, together with the fragment of a Gothic-Latin bilingual, itself a palimpsest, containing a portion of Romans, form the Codex Carolinus (cf. Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 386–8). Is it mere accident that we find P in company with a Gothic MS., and that both should have originated from Bobbio, whence also the African k? Or may we venture to see in P a Greek MS. that once belonged to the Gothic Church in Italy, and whose reading in this passage is the result of accommodation to the Gothic text? According to Scrivener, *Plain Introd.* (3rd ed.), p. 139, P stands alone fourteen times in 100 verses of Luke examined by him. It would be interesting to compare P with C. A. in these fourteen passages.

Odefey, dealing with the question of the relation of D and C. A. (pp. 25–6), characteristically prefers to ascribe a number of their agreements to the common Vorlage. Whilst this is always a possibility to be reckoned with, yet, wherever there is an alternative explanation of Old Latin influence, this ought, in the present state of our knowledge, to be very seriously considered. Odefey, on the other hand, says, 'So dürfen wir immerhin mit einem gewissen grad von wahrscheinlichkeit manche lesarten, in denen der Codex D allein genau zum gotischen stimmt, bei

[1] v. Soden, p. 1470, 'Ganz sicher ist, dass die altlateinischen übersetzungen irgendwie gelegentlich berücksichtigt wurden [scil. in the Gothic], merkwürdigerweise meist an stellen, an denen auch δ 5 ihren einfluss erfahren hat.'

der nicht genug zu betonenden güte der gotischen überlieferung der quelle des Goten zuweisen.'

One of the two examples he gives in this connexion is L. v. 8 προσεπεσεν τοις γονασιν Ιησου λεγων εξελθε απ' εμου κτλ. *draus du kniwam Iesuis qiþands* [*bidja þuk*] *usgagg fairra mis*, vg. *exi a me*; c e f (*rogo*) r *oro te exi a me*. The addition of *oro te* is shared by D (παρακαλω) and the Peshitta. The agreement of D with the Syriac is, of course, one of the standing problems of N. T. criticism, and may be compared with some of the Western readings which the C. A. shares with the Syriac and, as here, with both syr. and D. In this case, however, there is very little doubt that the Gothic is after the African of c e (which are occasionally accompanied by r), and that the reading has, as often happens, been handed on to f by way of the Brixian Bilingual.

Other passages involving D d e f are:—

J. viii. 45 αληθειαν λεγω *sunja rodida*, *loquor* d e, *locutus sum* f, λαλω D. See p. 125. This reading is also shared by syr.

L. vii. 25 τρυφη *in þodeinai*; *aepulatione* d. See p. 132, also p. 225 (M. xxvii. 52).

L. xviii. 38 και εβοησεν *iþ is ubuhvopida*; vg. *et clamavit, ille autem* e, *at ille* d f, ο δε D, pal. syr.; *exclamavit* a d e f ff² r.

XV

THE BRIXIAN BILINGUAL

§ 1. *Three stages of Latin influence.*

In the history of the relationship between the Gothic Gospels and the Latin Version there may be distinguished three phases:

1. The partial accommodation of the four Gospels to the Latin text, by the adoption of a number of Latin readings and renderings. This assimilation was not systematic; on the contrary, its incidence was sporadic and haphazard, and reflects only the inevitable result of the romanizing influences to which the Goths were from an early date exposed, reinforced later by the latinizing tendencies to which the Gothic-Latin bilinguals greatly conduced. This general latinizing of the Gospels shows itself least in Matthew and John, which, in the C. A., represent an older and purer text.

At this point I may as well place on record the results of my observations with regard to two points on which opinion has been, and perhaps still is, divided. The first is that I have failed to observe the slightest indication that the Vulgate has anywhere been responsible for the latinizing readings or renderings of the C. A. Wherever the Codex simulates the Vulgate text, the majority of Old Latin witnesses go with it. The second is that the latinisms in the C. A. give me the impression of being, for the most part at any rate, of post-Wulfilian origin.

I do not exclude the possibility that the Old Latin was in difficult cases consulted by the translator, unable to translate literally and at a loss how to paraphrase. Such a case may conceivably have arisen in L. i. 9 where ελαχεν, even though perfectly intelligible to the translator, needs to be freely rendered, and it is possible that the Goth here welcomed the support of the Old Latin (vg.) *sorte exiit*; nevertheless the reading of C. A., agreeing here more closely with e (f) q, points to a later accommodation to the African text. See pp. 174, 184. So also in L. ii. 8 αγραυλουντες was universally interpreted as *vigilantes*, &c., and the Goth may on that account have been induced to write, plausibly, *þairhwakandans* rather than, correctly, *ana haiþjai wisandans*. However, these are mere possibilities; the Goth is so extraordinarily faithful to the Greek, and so skilful in accurately reproducing the sense of the original, that the probability is

decidedly against any but the most occasional consultation, by the original translator, of the Latin Version.

2. A further and more thorough assimilation to the Latin text, affecting especially L. and Mk., but manifesting itself most strongly in the Argentean Luke, in which Gospel we see the effects of what we have termed the Palatinian Bilingual. Luke was the only strongly palatinized Gospel that found its way into the C. A.,[1] for in John there are only traces of the Palatinian Latin, although the Palatinian John is available for comparison with all but the whole of the C. A. fragments of that Gospel, whilst the Palatinian Mark accompanies the C. A. for the first five chapters without any indication of influence one way or another. In Matthew Cod. e is not available for comparison with the C. A. We have in the Codex Palatinus a very nearly related copy of the Latin half of the Palatinian Bilingual, and some of the readings of e still testify to its one-time connexion with the Gothic text (chapter xiii).

3. The edition we have termed the Brixian Bilingual, in which the Gothic text seems to have been more definitely fixed, and the Latin portion has been made to conform to it. The Codex Brixianus is a copy of the Latin portion of the Brixian Bilingual, and agrees with the text of the Vulgate to the extent of nearly 90 per cent. (F. C. Burkitt in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 130).

Of the two bilinguals, the Brixian is undoubtedly the younger, and it is often evident that the Gothic text has handed on Palatinian—and other—readings to f. In the examples given above (see summary on p. 183), there are eight in which a reading from e (k q) has found its way, via the Gothic, into the text of f. Also the extraordinary conflations presented by L. i. 29 (p. 221), and L. ix. 43 (pp. 212 ff.), which are preserved verbatim in the Brixianus, illustrate the same chain of descent. The prior date of the Palatinian is entirely consistent with the probable history of the Gothic text.

We will here supplement, by a few examples taken from J. and Mk. the eight passages cited by Burkitt in support of his thesis; for Luke, ample material will be found collected by Odefey (op. cit., pp. 96–106 'Die gotischen elemente des Codex Brixianus').

J. xii. 11 πολλοι δι' αυτον υπηγον των Ιουδαιων *managai in þis garunnun Iudaei*, vg. *multi propter illum abibant; ibant* e; *conveniebant* f. Now, for the Greek verb we might have expected *gaiddjedun* or, better, *galiþun*. But whatever the Goth may have meant by *garunnun*—and there seems no reason why that word should not be good, idiomatic Gothic = 'ran

[1] It will be remembered that africanisms are also most prominent in the Bezan Luke: cf. p. 191, note 3.

away, deserted'—the *conveniebant* of f is nonsense, and only to be explained as a blundering translation of the Gothic *garunnun*, without reference to the context; cf. L. v. 15 συνηρχοντο *garunnun*, vg. latt. *conveniebant*.

Mk. iv. 19 αι μεριμναι του αιωνος τουτου *saurgos þizos libainais*, vg. *aerumnae saeculi; sollicitudines saeculi huius* f. The present reading of C. A. is ultimately from L. viii. 14 του βιου *þizos libainais*, but since it is paralleled by βιου D and 7 others, *victus* b d ff² i q, *victi* c, *vitae* e, the intrusion of the Lucan reading may be due to the Old Latin. The Wulfilian reading should be *þis aiwis*, which is preserved in the *saeculi huius* of f, the only Latin MS. to exhibit the *K-reading τουτου (om. H–I), which it would seem to have adopted from the Gothic of the Brixian. The survival of *huius*, then, suggests that the text of f in this passage goes back to the Brixian, in which case we have in the *libainais* of C. A. an alteration that belongs to post-Brixian time (see chap. xvi, § 2).

Mk. vi. 21 τοις γενεσιοις *mela gabaurþais*, vg. *natali suo* (thus a b d); *natalis sui* 22 vg. MSS. and ff² l q; *tempore natalis sui* f, after Gothic.

J. vii. 12 αγαθος εστιν *sunjeins ist*, vg. latt. *bonus; verax* f after Gothic.

J. xviii. 5 απεκριθησαν αυτῳ *andhafjandans imma qeþun*, vg. latt. *responderunt ei; respondentes ei dixerunt* f. See p. 230 (J. xiii. 36).

§ 2. *The* Praefatio *and Jerome's Epistle to Sunnja and Friþila.*

The famous *Praefatio* which, on two odd leaves, is bound in with the Codex Brixianus has, since Fr. Kauffmann (see esp. *ZfdPh.* xxxii. 305 sqq.), been generally accepted as the work of two Gothic clerics named Sunnja and Friþila, whom Jerome addresses as Sunnia and Fretela; and to the same theologians has been ascribed the edition of the Gothic Gospels which we have named the Brixian Bilingual. Odefey, one of the latest writers on this subject, speaks of the 'Glossen Sunjas und Friþilas' (p. 137), and 'die kritische ausgabe Sunjas und Friþilas' (p. 139) as a matter of course. Kauffmann says (p. 316): 'Unsere *praefatio* ist nur unter den schülern des Wulfila im zusammenhang der durch das werk des Hieronymus erregten debatten verständlich.' This seems to be an entirely gratuitous assumption, and the present writer fails to see any justification for identifying this sixth-century MS. with the activities of two Goths at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries.

We believe that the autograph of the *Praefatio* is much more nearly contemporary with the sixth-century Codex f than it is possible to assume if we ascribe the former to Sunnja and Friþila. It seems *a priori* little probable that a preface, written about A.D. 400 as an introduction to what

would be the first Gothic-Latin bilingual, should survive in the company of a descendant of the Latin portion a full century later, when we consider the chequered history of the Goths and the numerous alterations and revisions which their Bible underwent during that time. The date advanced by Kauffmann is, moreover, too early by a generation for the earliest probable bilingual (cf. chap. xii). The fact that the *Praefatio* was bound in with the Brixianus is rather to be taken as an indication that the bilingual to which it refers—the Brixian—came into existence not very long before the Codex f was copied separately in its present form.[1]

The placing of the Brixian so far back leads to yet another difficulty, which Odefey (p. 139) attempts to explain. 'Da es wegen des geringen zeitlichen abstandes, der die kritische ausgabe Sunjas und Friþilas von der originalübersetzung Wulfilas trennt, sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass schon vor der herstellung der beiden paralleltexte lateinische lesarten in den gotischen text eindrangen, ist doch erst in jenem werke mit der kritischen vergleichung und glossierung des textes begonnen worden, so müssen wir, um dies verhältnis von f zum Cod. Arg. zu verstehen, mindestens noch eine weitere etappe in der gotischen textgeschichte annehmen.' But it has been shown that the Palatinian Bilingual comes between the Wulfilian text and the Brixian, and it is certain that the C. A. has a much longer and more complex textual history behind it than Odefey suggests.

Another point, which critics have ignored, is the fact that the letter of Sunnja and Friþila dealt exclusively with the Psalms, and that their questions involved, principally, the comparative value of the Κοινη-text, on which the Gothic Bible was based, and the Hexapla edition of the LXX from which Jerome (A.D. 392) made his new translation of the Psalms known as the Gallican Psalter. The differences between these two texts, as revealed by Jerome's new translation, were considerable, and Sunnja and Friþila, anxious for the correctness of the Gothic text, were desirous of learning to what extent the discrepancies between the new Psalter and the Wulfilian text were due to the difference of the underlying Greek, and, if so, which of these two Greek texts came nearest to the Hebrew. The number of passages they submitted to Jerome for explanation shows how thoroughly in earnest they were.

Jerome's reply to this question (*Epist.* 106, § 2) is as follows:—'Quaeritis a me rem magni operis et maioris invidiae, in qua scribentis non ingenium, sed eruditio conprobetur, ut, dum ipse cupio iudicare de ceteris, iudicandum me omnibus praebeam et in opere psalterii iuxta digestionem schedulae vestrae, ubicumque inter Latinos Graecosque con-

[1] Cf. Burkitt, loc. cit., p. 131, 'Our Codex Brixianus might be a copy of this bilingual, with the Gothic left out.'

tentio est, quid magis Hebraeis conveniat, significem. In quo illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origines et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινὴν —id est communem—appellant atque vulgatam et a plerisque nunc Ἑβραϊκὸς dicitur, aliam septuginta interpretum, quae et in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est et Hierosolymae atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur. . . .

Sicut autem in novo testamento, si quando apud Latinos quaestio exoritur et est inter exemplaria varietas, recurrimus ad fontem Graeci sermonis, quo novum scriptum est instrumentum, ita et in veteri testamento, si quando inter Graecos Latinosque diversitas est, ad Hebraicam confugimus veritatem, ut, quicquid de fonte profluxerit, hoc quaeramus in rivulis. Κοινὴ autem ista, hoc est communis, editio ipsa est, quae et Septuaginta. Sed hoc interest inter utramque, quod κοινὴ pro locis et temporibus et pro voluntate scriptorum vetus corrupta editio est, εὐαπλοῖς autem, quae habetur in ἑξαπλοῖς et quam nos vertimus, ipsa est, quae in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata septuaginta interpretum translatio reservatur. Quicquid ergo ab hac discrepat, nulli dubium est, quin ita et ab Hebraeorum auctoritate discordet.'

The following are examples of Jerome's detailed comments on the passages submitted to him by Sunnja and Fritila for criticism. They are fairly typical of the rest.

4. *Dirige in conspectu meo viam meam*—pro quo habetur in Graeco κατεύθυνον εὐθεῖαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ προσώπου μου, hoc est, *dirige in conspectu faciei meae*—quod nec Septuaginta habent nec Aquila nec Symmachus nec Theodotio, sed sola κοινὴ editio.

20. Quadragesimo tertio *annus egressus in civitatibus meis*, pro quo in Graeco reperisse vos dicitis: ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα τριῶν, &c. Sed superfluum est.

00. *Bucca tua, quam te exaltavit, domine*. Dicitis in Graeco non esse 'tua'. Et verum est, sed apud Latinos propter εὐφωνίαν positum. Si enim dicamus '*laudate Dominum quam exaltavit, domine*', compositionis elegantiam non habebit.

Whether Sunnja and Fritila equally interested themselves in Jerome's revision of the Old Latin N. T., which had appeared in 383, history does not record, but in view of the fact that Jerome's *versum quae* was not a fresh translation from the Greek but, as he expressly states in his letter to Damasus, merely a conservative revision of the Old Latin we fail to see how the Hieronymian Gospels could have interested the Gothic textual critics whose letter to Jerome was prompted solely by their anxiety that the Gothic Psalter should conform to the best possible Greek text. We cannot identify the Sunnja and Fritila who were so solicitous for the

agreement of their Psalter with the *Graeca et Hebraica veritas*, with the Editors of the Brixian Bilingual (which we cannot date earlier than *c.* 475) who, handling and handing down to their successors a text already invaded by latinisms and Western readings and conflations, raise not one word of protest against these intrusions from the Old Latin, but rather lay stress on the synonymity with the Greek and with one another of the Gothic and Latin renderings which they claim to have achieved.

Furthermore, the aims and principles reflected by the two documents are so entirely different. The Brixian Preface is clearly concerned with renderings, whilst Sunnja and Fripila are anxious about the readings of their text; the latter challenge the addition of a pronoun which is not in the Κοινη-Greek, quite in consonance with the most conservative Wulfilian technique, whereas the writer of the *Praefatio* favours a liberality of rendering which, far from conflicting with Jeromian methods, may indeed be a flattering imitation of that scholar's example. Nevertheless, Kauffmann (p. 311) writes: 'Der polemische charakter des fragments ist so zugespitzt, dass der gegner leicht zu erraten ist: die auslassungen zielen auf Hieronymus und seine neue Bibelrezension, die sog. Vulgata (a. 383 begonnen, a. 405 vollendet).' This is the necessary conclusion to the premiss (quoted above, p. 196) that the *Praefatio* could only be thought of in connexion with Wulfila and his school. This error is based partly on a misunderstanding of the text of the *Praefatio* itself, to the consideration of which we will now turn.

§ 3. *The text of the* Praefatio.

The *Praefatio* begins with a quotation from Rufinus's translation of the Clementine Recognitions, viii, 37, to the effect that it is the duty of a translator of the Holy Word to keep close to the traditional text in translating, even though an occasional deviation might serve to the better understanding of the passage. 'Nec aliquid proprium et quod vobis non est traditum proloquamini, etiamsi vobis verisimile videatur. sed ut dixi quae ipse a vero propheta suscepta vobis tradidi prosequimini, etiamsi minus plenae adsertionis esse videbuntur.'

But, continues the writer, that does not mean that your translation must conform exactly to the very letter, &c., of the original; there are bound to be differences between one language and another sufficient to justify, in a bilingual, 'discrepationes pro disciplina linguae'. 'Et ideo ne in interpraetationibus linguarum, secundum quae in interiora libri ostenduntur, legenti videatur aliud in Graeca lingua, aliud in Latina vel Gotica, designata esse conscribta: illud advertat quis, quod si pro disci-

plina linguae[1] discrepationem ostendit, ad unam tamen intentionem concurrit. quare nullus exinde titubare debet de quod ipsa auctoritas manifestat secundum intentione⟨m⟩ linguae. propter declinationes sonus vocis diligenti perceptione statuta sunt, ut in subsequentibus conscribta leguntur.'[2]

I translate, somewhat freely, as follows: And so, lest in the Versions [*in interpr. linguarum*] the reader, judging by the contents of this book, should think the text to have one meaning in Greek, but another in Latin or Gothic, let him note that, if anywhere there should seem a discrepancy owing to the (different) rules of the language, the meaning is nevertheless the same. Wherefore no one need be (or, ought to be) in doubt as to what (*de quod*)[3] is shown forth in the original Greek as manifested by the sense of the translation [*intentionem linguae*]. What stands written in the following pages has been determined after careful consideration, on account of the differences in the meanings of words (*scil.* in the different languages) [= *declinationes sonus vocis*].[4]

That is to say, the editors of the following Gothic-Latin bilingual—or was it a Greek-Gothic-Latin trilingual?[5]—guarantee the correctness of the Gothic and Latin versions (*interpretationes linguarum*), warning the reader not to be misled by apparent discrepancies.

My translation of the passage *quare nullus . . . linguae* is an endeavour to do justice to the text as punctuated by Kauffmann.[6] I believe, however, that the writer intended this passage to be read with a full stop after *manifestat*, thus:—(*α*) . . . si pro disciplina linguae discrepationem ostendit, ad unam tamen intentionem concurrit. (*β*) Quare nullus exinde titubare debet de quod ipsa auctoritas manifestat. (*γ*) Secundum intentionem

[1] *Lingua*, Bianchini, Haupt.

[2] This is Kauffmann's newly collated text (*ZfdPh.* xxxii. 305 ff.) as printed by Streitb. (*G.B.* xlii f. . A number of emendations, in improvement of the latinity of the preface, were proposed by Draeseke, *Z.f. wissent. Theol.* l. 107–17.

[3] Draeseke would improve the reading to *de eo quod*, translating 'Deshalb braucht also niemand infolgedessen zu schwanken betreffs dessen, was die schriftautorität selber dem sinne der sprachformen gemäss kundtut und was ⟨*et quae* ante *propter*⟩ wegen der abweichungen in den klangfarben ⟨*sonorum* Dr. der stimme durch sorgfältige beobachtung so festgestellt ist, wie man es im nachfolgenden aufgezeichnet liest.' Kauffmann translates: 'Deshalb braucht also niemand unsicher zu sein, über das, was die schrift selber kund tut gemäss dem sinn der sprachformen.' Bernhardt (*ZfdPh.* ii. 294 ff.), 'Daher soll folglich niemand zweifeln darüber, dass, was die autorität selbst überliefert, gemäss dem sinne der sprache mit rücksicht auf ihre beugungen, laute, worte, mit sorgfältiger auffassung festgestellt ist.'

[4] Kauffmann's rendering of the last passage is, 'In folge der abweichungen im klang der aussprache ist der text nach sorgfältiger beobachtung so eingerichtet, wie er im nachfolgenden lautet.'

[5] Cf. Kauffmann, p. 319 and note 1. See also below, p. 210–11.

[6] Closely following the text of the *praefatio*. Bianchini, who first published the text in his *Evangeliarium quadruplex* (1749), Pars I, vol. i, pp. 7–8, shows no stop after *linguae*, nor after *manifestat*.

linguae, propter declinationes sonus vocis, diligenti perceptione statuta sunt ut in subsequentibus conscribta leguntur.

The last passage then becomes: What stands written in the following pages, has been determined after careful consideration (on account of the differences in the meanings of words), in accordance with the sense of the language (i. e. Gothic or Latin). That is to say, in the choice of renderings, the actual meaning of that rendering (in Gothic or Latin) has been considered, not the grammatical form or the literal sense of the Greek, so that where a literal translation would have involved a distortion of sense in the Version, another rendering has been chosen.

The train of thought is thus perfectly clear: (α) The Greek, Gothic, and Latin, even where they may seem discrepant, yet have the same meaning. (β) Therefore the Gothic (or Latin) reader can be sure, as he reads the Gothic (or Latin) version, that he has before him the true meaning of the *ipsa auctoritas*. (γ) Because of the inherent differences between one language and another, the renderings have been carefully chosen with due regard to their meanings in Gothic (or Latin).

At this point we would ask, In what way does this brief disquisition on the Brixian translation-technique conflict with Jerome's literary ideals? The writer of the *Praefatio* takes account of the appropriate renderings of individual words in different languages (*declinationes sonus vocis*), as well as of differences of grammar, idiom, and syntax (*si pro disciplina linguae discrepationem ostendit*). There is nothing in this paragraph that would not have met with Jerome's entire approval; indeed, it may be said to sum up in a few words the principles that Jerome has expounded more fully. E.g., in his letter to Sunnja and Friþila (*Epist.* 106 § 3): 'Et hanc esse regulam boni interpretis, ut ἰδιωματα linguae alterius suae linguae exprimat proprietate. . . . Nec ex eo quis latinam linguam angustissimam putet, quod non possit verbum transferre de verbo, cum etiam Graeci pleraque nostra circuitu transferant et verba Hebraica non interpretationis fide, sed linguae suae proprietatibus nitantur exprimere.' Again, in a letter to Pammachus (*Epist.* 57 § 2): 'Ut inter inperitos contionetur me falsarium, me verbum non expressisse de verbo, pro "*honorabili*" dixisse "*carissimum*".' Ibid. § 5 'Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque scripturis sanctis,[1] ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum

[1] 'Except in the Holy Scriptures, where the very order of the words is mystery.' So Jerome, in translating the N. T., made considerable concessions to the Greek text, as, indeed, is evident on casual inspection. But he thereby came a degree nearer to the style of the Gothic translation as preserved in the C. A., and with less reason still can it be said that the criticisms of the Brixian Editors were directed against Jerome.

exprimere de sensu.' Also in *Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas*, lib. iii, cap. 5 'Non verborum etymologias, sed Scripturae sensum disserere conamur.'

The second paragraph of the *Praefatio*, therefore, presents an argument against an over-literal, word-for-word, hellenizing translation, in favour of a freer, more idiomatic version, and the terms in which it is conceived cannot be interpreted as an attack on Jerome, but are to be taken rather as an approval of his methods. It is evident, however, that the editors of the Brixian fell very far short of Jerome's ideals; it is indeed to be doubted whether they were prepared to go as far as that scholar in the direction of freedom of rendering; that would have been in any case impossible without making an entirely new translation of the Gospels into Gothic. Yet, in whatever degree the Brixian editors may be considered, in the light of the Argentean text, to have achieved success or to have fallen short of it, the *Praefatio* is written by one who professes to approve of an idiomatic translation, and who warns the reader against being offended at apparent deviations, in the Versions, necessary to avoid the errors which an over-literal translation would entail. This is a liberalism of method which in no wise conflicts with Jerome's procedure; which is, indeed, more liberal than anything we have observed in the Wulfilian translation-technique as a whole. One argument the more, then, against the assumption of so early a date as *c.* 410 for the Brixian Bilingual; much rather would we see, in the terms of the *Praefatio*, the influence of Jerome's work on the Goths of a more enlightened age, in favour of a less literal text.

The third paragraph of the preface begins with the only contentious sentence in the whole text. 'Haec res fecit probanter publicare propter aliquos qui falsa adsertione secundum volumtate(m) sua(m) mendacia in lege vel in evangeliis per interpraetationem propria(m) posuerunt.'

The opening words are obscure, but the general sense seems to be 'This fact made it desirable (*fecit probanter*) to explain (these points) to the public (*publicare*). . . .' Kauffmann translates 'Diese sachlage veranlasste (uns) zu einer angemessenen veröffentlichung,' taking *probanter* with *publicare*. Draesecke would read *probantia* 'proofs', with the observation 'interpretum magnopere intererat exempla publicare, quae probarent etymologias . . . concurrere'. The *Praefatio* continues 'because of certain people who, by means of erroneous meanings (i. e. renderings), have wantonly introduced falsities into the Laws and Gospels through a translation of their own'.

Unfortunately, the writer does not specify the particular kind of rendering to which he takes exception, but if we take this paragraph closely

with what precedes, his remarks must be directed against one[1] or both of the following:—

1. Over-literal, etymologizing renderings that took no account of native idiom and which, although apparently coincident with the Greek, did not render its true sense. That is, the writer advocates a freer translation-technique against the older Wulfilian style.

2. Too freely exegetical renderings which opened the door to mis-interpretations of the resulting translation. That is, whilst putting forward the claims of an idiomatic translation he defends himself against the charges of extravagance as committed by 'certain people' whose methods he repudiates.

The writer has already expressed disapproval of the first class of renderings, whilst, as to the second, he has guaranteed his apparently deviative renderings to represent nothing but the exact meaning of the Greek and, as we shall see, he is prepared to give positive demonstration, by means of his 'Wulþres', in support of his guarantee. As examples of the over-literal rendering we have *atwaurpans* (L. xvi. 20); the other kind may be illustrated by such as *gahlaibam* (J. xi. 16), *til du wrohjan* (L. vi. 7), *naudibandjom eisarneinaim* (Mk. v. 3), and the like.

The 'certain persons', if we take these remarks to refer to extravagance of rendering, certainly do not include Saint Jerome. It was not because Jerome's translation was excessively free that his enemies accused him of '*falsationes*', but because he did justice at all to the claims of idiomatic Latinity. It is not, therefore, against him that are directed the criticisms of the *Praefatio*, whose writer pays due regard to *disciplina linguae* and the *declinationes sonus vocis*. And the reader will see that if these words were written in 410, against literalism of rendering, the offender was much more likely to be Wulfila, which would render the position of the Sunnja and Fripila school untenable.

We do not believe, however, that Wulfila could ever have been guilty of such a blunder as L. iii. 14 *waldaiþ annom izwaraim*; such literalisms are the work of the ignorant tamperers against whom the writer of the Brixian preface inveighs.[2] The Gothic text was not completely purged of these errors in the Brixian Edition, nor yet subsequently, and the necessity for marginal correction is seen even in the C. A., in spite of the magnificence of its exterior.

[1] It is probably the literalisms and hellenisms that the writer has particularly in mind.

[2] Unless this was originally a *wulthre* giving the literal equivalent of the Greek, and replacing, in the C. A., the correct rendering. See below, p. 211.

§ 4. *The Wulthres.*

The third paragraph of the *Praefatio* concludes :—

'quare illa declinantes haec posita sunt quae antiquitas legis in dictis Graecorum contineri inveniuntur et ipsas etymologias linguarum convenienter sibi conscribtas ad unum sensum concurrere demonstra(n)tur.

Nam et ea(s) convenit indicare. pro quod in uulthres factu(m) est— latina vero lingua adnotatio significatur—(ut) quare it positum est agnosci possit. Ubi littera .gr. super uulthre invenitur, sciat qui legit quod in ipso uulthre secundum quod Graecus continet scribtum est. Ubi vero littera .la. super uulthre invenitur, secundum latina(m) lingua(m) in uulthre ostensum est. Et ideo ista instructio demonstrata (i)ta est, ne legentes ipsos uulthres non perciperent, pro qua ratione positi sint. Sed quod . . .'

This is the only really troublesome part of the preface, and it depends on our interpretation of the expressions *etymologias* and *convenienter sibi* how we understand the intention that lies behind a corrupt and anacoluthic text. So far the *Praefatio*, if obscure in detail, has presented a clearly-reasoned and well-balanced piece of composition, and I believe the same may be said of the remainder, if I may be optimistic enough to claim for the following translation the accuracy of paraphrase.

'Wherefore, rejecting those (errors), we have set down (only) that which is found in the Greek original, and it is shown how the *real meanings* (*ipsas etymologias*) of the words [*scil.* of the different languages= *linguarum*] that have been written as appropriate equivalents (*convenienter sibi*) each of other [or, more simply, 'the real meanings of corresponding words'], are of the same signification.'

Here a word of explanation is needed to justify my rendering of *etymologias*. That the writer has used the word in the sense 'actual meaning' and not in its usual acceptation 'derivation' follows from the two preceding paragraphs.[1] His Gothic and Latin renderings, he tells us, are not going to be formally or syntactically consonant with one another or with the Greek, but they will be found to have exactly the same meanings: this, he assures us, has received his most careful consideration. Now he goes still further: he is prepared to show,

[1] Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Corpus Glossary* I. 318-19, p. 67 *ethimologia* : *proprietas*, glossing Jerome *De Viris Illustribus* 63 : cf. also Leiden Gloss. *aethimologia* : *proprietate*. Here *proprietas* 'proper meaning', in which sense it is used by Quintilian. I fail to see how else *etymologias* is to be understood in the present passage, and was pleased to find that Bernhardt *ZfdPh.* ii. 294 ff. interpreted the word in the same way, 'Und es wird gezeigt, dass die wirkliche (*ipsas*) auslegung (*etymologias*) der sprache in gegenseitiger übereinstimmung abgefasst auf einen sinn hinausläuft.'

'*demonstrare*', that these renderings have the same meanings. Which renderings? Those, to be sure, that are at first sight not conformant; those that exhibit '*pro disciplina linguae discrepationem*'. After what he has told us, it cannot be his purpose to 'demonstrate', e. g., that κοινοις: *gamainjaim: communibus* are etymologically parallel, for they are evidently not, whilst the renderings would pass unchallenged, although the Latin *communibus*, at any rate, is translation-Latin,[1] and, for our part, we believe the Gothic to be equally a literalism; yet even if the words were idiomatically synonymous, a note such as '*gamainjaim*' would be no 'demonstration'. .gr.

The passage immediately following is corrupt. The MS. actually reads 'nam et ea convenit indicare pro quod in uulthres factum est latina vero lingua adnotatio significatur quare it positum est agnosci possit, &c.', which makes no sense at all without at least the addition of *ut* before *quare*. Kauffmann reads *eas*, whilst Draeseke would further emend to *pro eo quod* and *positum sit*. Kauffmann's version of the passage is 'Denn auch sie ziemte es sich anzudeuten, in dem verhältnis, wie es in den wulthres geschehen ist—auf lateinisch: *adnotatio*—damit erkannt werden könne, weshalb das (betr. wort) gesetzt ist'. Bernhardt, punctuating differently, translates 'Denn es ist passend dieses auch zu bezeichnen gemäss dem, wie es in den *wulthres* geschehen ist. In lateinischer sprache wird (damit) eine *adnotatio* bezeichnet (damit) weshalb das und das gesetzt sei, erkannt werden könne. Wo der buchstabe, &c.'

I propose to emend Kauffmann's punctuation of the Codex Brixianus here also, placing a full stop after *significatur* and substituting a comma for the full stop after *possit*; the conjectural *ut* then goes naturally before *agnosci*, thus: 'Nam et[2] eas convenit indicare, pro quod in uulthres factum est (latina vero lingua adnotatio significatur). Quare it positum est ut agnosci possit, ubi littera .gr. super uulthre invenitur, sciat qui legit quod . . .' 'For it seemed desirable also to indicate these etymologies, as has been done in the *wulthres* (in Latin this means '*annotatio*'). In order that the purpose may be recognized wherefor it (*scil.* any such

[1] *Communis, -icare* is frequent in Patristic Latin and in vg. latt. as the rendering of κοινος, κοινουν: see *Thesaurus Linguae Lat.* s.v. *communis*. Cf. also (ibid.) Rufinus, *Orig. Comment. in Levit., Homil* 5 § 12 (= Migne Ser. Gr. xii. 465/1), 'Vernacula quadam consuetudine scripturae commune esse dicitur quod immundum est . . . Consequenter ergo si id quod immundum est, commune appellatur, quod sanctum est, nominabitur separatum.' *Communis* and *separatus* are thus technical literalisms that have to be explained.

[2] The copula, if it has any significance at all here, refers to the preceding *et ipsas etymologias*, the thought being, 'We have (*a*) carefully chosen our renderings, and also (*b*) indicated the "etymologies". For also the latter (*b*) seemed necessary [*scil.* as well as (*a*)].'

wulthre] has been written, will the reader note that where the letter .gr. is found above the *wulthre*, that *wulthre* follows the Greek text. Where, however, the letter .la. is found above the *wulthre*, the Latin text is there set forth. And so this annotation has been thus distinguished, lest they who read these *wulthres* should not perceive for what reason (*pro qua ratione*) they were written.' [1]

Thus punctuated, the passage reads more convincingly; *it* may reasonably be referred to the immediately preceding *in uulthres factum est*, whereas, if we adopt Kauffmann's punctuation, taking *ut quare it positum est* closely with *nam et eas convenit indicare, pro quod in uulthres factum est*, the relation of *it* becomes obscure; the intrusion of 'das (betr. wort)' is irrelevant; it is difficult to see how the writer could at this point have had in mind the renderings, and have referred to them as '*it*'; futhermore, the 'etymologies' set forth in the *wulthres* were written to show that all the renderings were synonymous; they were not intended to explain why any particular rendering was used. To this point we shall return presently.

It is not enough, then, to write down in Gothic the true meaning (*ipsa etymologia*) of a word or phrase in the Greek or Latin text with the object of 'demonstrating' its identity in sense with the corresponding Gothic rendering, but the writer is careful to indicate, by superscribing .gr. or .la. (? or both) over the paraphrase, whether the *wulthre* refers to the Greek or to the Latin text. These marginal notes are therefore to some extent comparable to those in the R. V., 'indicating the exact rendering of words to which, for the sake of English idiom, we were obliged to give a less exact rendering in the text.' [2]

Unfortunately, the MS. breaks off at this point, and we are left uncertain whether there was yet another kind of *wulthre* marked '.go.' and written in Latin for the benefit of the Latin readers who would like to have explained to them the *ipsas etymologias* of the Greek and Gothic. I mention this only as a possibility; had there been such, the writer would in all probability have mentioned them along with the others; moreover, the edition was brought out by Goths for Goths,[3] the *wulthres* being of course in Gothic, and not in Latin, as follows clearly from the

[1] Kauffmann renders the last sentence, 'Und deshalb ist diese anweisung so erklärt, damit die leser gerade die wulthres in dem sinne auffassen, in dem sie gesetzt sind.' Bernhardt, 'Und deshalb ist jenes wahrzeichen angegeben, damit nicht die, welche die wulthres selbst lesen, in unkenntnis seien, aus welchem grunde sie gesetzt sind.'

[2] See R.V., *Preface* iii. § 4. E. g., L. xii. 39 broken through : Margin 'Gr. digged through'.

[3] It is hardly worth while speculating whether the original edition contained a preface in Gothic as well as in Latin, although that is *a priori* not improbable.

words 'ubi vero littera .la. super wulthre invenitur, secundum latinam linguam ostensum est'. The fact that there are no traces of such Latin glosses in f points in the same direction.

Nor can we be absolutely certain that the annotated bilingual of which the *Praefatio* formed the introduction is one and the same with that which we call the Brixian on account of the gothicizing renderings which Burkitt was the first to recognize in the text of f. The fact, however, that the *Praefatio* and the codex f are found together makes the identity reasonably probable.

The Latin text which was selected to partner the Gothic in this annotated edition, and of which the present Brixianus is a near descendant, may previously have been in the company of the Gothic text, and so already partly assimilated to it; nevertheless the obligation, under which the editors had placed themselves, of accounting for 'discrepancies' in the renderings, may have been an additional inducement to them to assimilate the two texts where this could reasonably be done, and this *a priori* tendency may partly account for the Gothic renderings found in all the four Gospels of f.

We will now illustrate the preceding paragraphs by a few examples of the Brixian *wulthre*, or paraphrase of 'discrepant' renderings. Since we have neither the Gothic nor the Latin text of the Brixian before us, we will content ourselves with the C. A. and f, and proceed as though we intended to combine these two into a bilingual, devising *wulthres* after the plan of the Brixian Editors.

There are possible four combinations:—

A. Gothic agrees with Greek against Latin.
B. ,, ,, ,, Latin against Greek.
C. ,, ,, ,, both.
D. ,, ,, ,, neither.

We will exhibit the Greek, the text of C. A., and that of f, followed by a *wulthre* such as the Brixian editor would have written in the margin by way of annotation.

A. (M. xxvii. 48) εποτιζεν αὐτον: *draggkida ina: dabat ei bibere: gaf imma driggkan* (or, *dragk*; cf. L. viii. 55 *giban mat*). .la.

B. (M. viii. 32) ωρμησεν: *run gawaurhtedun sis: impetum fecit: rann(un)*. .gr.
(M. xxvii. 3) κατεκριθη: *du stauai gatauhans: ad iudicium ductus: gadomiþs warþ*. [vg. *damnatus*]. .gr.
(L. vi. 7) κατηγοριαν αυτου: *til du wrohjan ina: occasionem accusandi: wroh is* (or, *wroh ana ina*: cf. J. xviii. 29). .gr.

C. (Mk. vii. 2) κοιναις : *gamainjaim : communibus* : NO WULTHRE REQUIRED.
.gr. .la.

D. (M. xi. 1) μετεβη : *ushof sik : transiit : uslaiþ, þairhiddja.*
.gr. .la.

(Mk. iv. 28) πληρη σιτον : *fulliþ kaurnis : plenum granum : fullata kaurn.*

These *wulthres* fulfil the conditions, expressed and implied, of the text of the *Praefatio.* The renderings of the two translations sometimes differ from one another and from the Greek '*pro disciplina linguae*'; nevertheless they are shown, '*demonstrantur*', to have the same meaning by the only means possible in the circumstances, namely, by giving a close rendering of the Greek reading and the Latin version, and leaving it to the reader's intelligence, by comparing these with the Gothic, to see that all three really come to the same thing. This is all that can be done by way of 'demonstration'.

If we take *ipsas etymologias* to mean 'derivations', it becomes impossible to reconcile this meaning with the intentions of the writer as we understand them. Let us take, e. g., Kauffmann's example Mk. vii. 2 κοιναις : *gamainjaim* : *communibus* in connexion with his translation of part of § 3 : 'Dass gerade die etymologischen entsprechungen der sprachen, wo sie einander angepasst niedergeschrieben sind, auf ein und denselben sinn hinauslaufen. Denn auch sie ziemte es sich anzudeuten, in dem verhältnis, wie es in den wulthres geschehen ist —auf lateinisch : *adnotatio*—damit erkannt werden könne, weshalb das (betr. wort) gesetzt ist.' This does not accord with the writer's expressed intention : there is no '*discrepatio*' of meaning or of construction, between the three words, so that if there is any difference at all, it must
.gr.
be idiomatic, in which case '*gamainjaim*' would be justified only as a marginal note to an idiomatic rendering of κοιναις.

Kauffmann says (p. 314) : 'Ich denke mir also, um ein beispiel zu
.gr.
geben, bei einer stelle wie Mk. vii. 2 . . . war *gamainjaim* am rand vermerkt worden, um die übersetzung durch den beleg der griechischen entsprechung zu rechtfertigen. . . . Analog bei latinismen wie z.b. *fagino anstai audahafta* L. i. 28 : in der gr. vorlage steht κεχαριτωμενη, der gegenüber die gotische fassung allzu frei erscheinen konnte ; durch eine
.la.
am rand beigefügte glosse *anstai* wurde die für die gotische fassung massgebende lateinische übersetzung *gratia* (*plena*) erläuternd angezogen usw.' Again (p. 315) 'Die sigle .gr. bedeutet dass im betreffenden fall die griechische lesart bei der wortwahl den ausschlag gegeben hat, wie in anderen fällen, in der HS. mit .la. bezeichnet, die lateinische.'

But the author of the *Praefatio* proposes to justify differences, not agreements, between the renderings and the original Greek. He has undertaken to demonstrate the fitness of the Gothic and Latin renderings by showing that they have the same meaning as the Greek, even where they are to the superficial critic not formally coincident. And he has too much regard for the authority of the Greek text to justify a Gothic rendering merely by pointing out a word or a similar turn of speech in the Latin version, rather than by the intrinsic merit of the rendering itself.

In connexion with the meaning to be attached to the Brixian *etymologia*, it suggests itself that the Goth may have had in mind etymological *wulthres* to single words, as in the following:

.gr. .la.
M. viii. 12 εξωτερον: *hindumisto*: *exteriores*: **utmisto*.

.gr. .la.
J. xix. 12 αντιλεγει: *andstandiþ*: *contradicit*: *andqiþiþ*.

.gr. .la.
J. ix. 16 σχισμα: *missaqiss*: *schisma*: *gaskaideins*.

This, however, is *a priori* unlikely. *Andqiþan* does not mean 'contradict, oppose', but 'to speak to, take leave of' (L. viii. 19; ix. 61), and, as we have seen, the Goth usually proceeds with a strict regard for the sense of his original. An etymological *wulthre* such as '.gr. .la. *andqiþiþ*' would have been useful only to show why that word was *not* used, which is no part of the praefator's plan. The same applies in the other cases; **utmisto* is not extant, obvious as it seems as a rendering of εξωτερον; we may conclude that the word, if it existed, was here inadmissible. *Hindumisto*, at any rate, seems semantically unexceptionable in view of the common use of *hindar* = περαν, whence *hindumisto* = *ultimum*. Similarly *gaskaideins* (Rom. x. 12) is used to render διαστολη [R. V. there is no distinction (difference A. V.) between Jew and Greek], and would in the present instance have been a bad, if etymologizing, rendering.

The annotation by means of *wulthres* does not seem to have been very thorough; indeed, many of the Gothic and Latin renderings and readings—so far as we can see from the text of C. A. and f—would not have stood the test imposed upon them, whilst a complete comb-out of errors, conflations, confusions with parallel passages and the like was, we should imagine, neither possible nor even contemplated. Some of the inaccuracies and confusions we meet with in the C. A.—how many, we cannot say—no doubt belong to a period subsequent to the Brixian edition, for, comparatively short as that period was, we have indisputable proof that the Gothic text underwent changes in post-Brixian time: see

chapter xvi, § 2. On the other hand, the fact that a number of passages, even in the Brixian text, would not bear comparison with the correct Greek reading, is strikingly illustrated by the examples given in the next chapter of the influence of the parallel passages on one another, some of which, at least, must go back as far as the Brixian Bilingual.[1] We will give these cases, briefly showing the Greek, the rendering of the C. A., and the text of f.

From chapter xvii. § 1.

M. ix. 12 ισχυοντες: *hailai*: *sani.*
J. vii. 12 αγαθος: *sunjeins*: *verax.*
J. xviii. 5 απεκριθησαν αυτῳ: *andhafjandans imma qeþun*: *respondentes ei dixerunt.*
L. iv. 9 και: *þaþroh*: *deinde.*
L. v. 10 εση ζωγρων: *siud nutans*: *eritis captores.*
L. vi. 32–4 χαρις: *laune*: *retributio.*
L. ix. 12 ευρωσιν: *bugjaina*: *emant.*
L. xix. 23 επι τραπεζαν: *du skattjam*: *nummulariis* e f.
L. xx. 21 λεγεις: *rodeis*: *loqueris.*
Mk. ii. 22 βλητεον: *giutand*: *mittunt.*
Mk. ix. 15 ησπαζοντο: *inwitun*: *adoraverunt.*

From chapter xvii, § 2.

M. vi. 24 ανθεξεται: *ufhauseiþ*: *obediet.*
J. vi. 37 διδωσιν: *gaf*: *dedit.*
J. vii. 15 Ιουδαιοι: *manageins*: *turbae.*
J. xvi. 21 γεννησῃ: *gabauran ist*: *natus fuerit* (*est* e) e f.
L. v. 18 εισενεγκειν: *hwaiwa ina innaþbereina*: *quomodo eum inferre.*
L. ix. 26 και: *aiþþau*: *aut.*
L. xvi. 10 αδικος: *untriggws*: *infidelis.*

Here then is evidence to show that there were Gothic and Latin renderings in the Brixian which did not agree with the Greek text, unless we suppose the latter to have been accommodated to the other two, which we are not entitled to assume. These renderings, therefore, cannot have been 'demonstrated', by means of *wulthres*, to be synonymous with the *graeca veritas*. It is evident that *wulthres* such as

.gr.
(Mk. ix. 15) *inwitun*: *adoraverunt*: *golidedun* (ησπαζοντο): (M. vi. 24)

[1] Where the C. A. and f stand alone, the assimilation of the two texts is not necessarily the work of the Brixian editors, but may have been effected subsequently in a bilingual copy of the original Brixian. There is nothing to show, however, that such was ever made, and, even then, it is highly improbable that all the examples arose in this way.

ufhauseiþ: *obediet*: *andtuloþ* (.gr. = ανθεξεται, cf. L. xvi. 13) would have defeated the very object that the *Praefatio* seems to have had particularly in view, by drawing attention to a discrepancy that is obviously without any justification.

Then, again, when this bilingual, with its marginal *wulthres*, came to be copied, the door would be opened wide to all kinds of corruption. A *wulthre* like M. xxvii. 3 *gadomiþs* .gr. *warþ* might easily find its way back into the text and so nullify the work of the Brixian editors, and this was especially likely to happen where the scribe was more familiar with the older text, which would contain just such literalisms of translation from which the Brixian text had been purged. Conversely, *wulthres* like M. xxvii. 48 *gaf imma* .la. *driggkan* (*draggk*) would provide an opportunity for such latinisms to slip into the Gothic text,[1] and it is well within the bounds of probability that a number of Latin readings and renderings in the C. A. were originally Brixian *wulthres*.

These arguments go to support our contention that the C. A., with all its inaccuracies, latinisms, confusions, and conflations, need not be more than a generation removed from the Brixian Bilingual, whose *praefatio* promised more fairly than the Editors performed (p. 202).

[1] L. vii. 42 *haþro usgebeina* may be a case in point: see p. 178.

XVI

FURTHER EVIDENCES OF THE TEXTUAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GOTHS.

§ 1. *The conflation in Luke ix. 43.*

Before proceeding to illustrate the extent and diversity of the revisional activity that was expended on the Gothic text, by giving an account of the post-Brixian revisions that are still discernible, of the interaction, within the Gothic text itself, of parallel passages, and of traces pointing to the comparison of the Gothic with the Greek MSS. subsequent to original translation, it will be convenient to deal with the curious conflation in L. ix. 43, which illustrates several features of the textual history of the C. A. For the reader's convenience we will give the Greek of Streitberg, followed by C. A., Vulgate, and the text of c e f ff^2 r, after which we will exhibit C. A., e f in detail, in three columns, and, lastly, c e f ff^2 r again, to compare with the second arrangement of C. A., e and f.

Παντων δε θαυμαζοντων επι πασιν οις εποιησεν ο Ιησους ειπεν δε[1] προς τους μαθητας αυτου.

At allaim þan sildaleikjandam bi alla þoei gatawida Iesus [qaþ Paitrus: frauja, dulve weis ni mahtedum usdreiban þamma? iþ Iesus qaþ: þata kuni ni usgaggiþ, nibai in bidom jah in fastubnja.] qaþ þan du siponjam seinaim.

Vg. omnibusque mirantibus in omnibus quae faciebat, dixit ad discipulos suos.

c e f ff^2 r: Omnibus mirantibus in omnibus quae faciebat (+iesus f q r δ), [dixit ei (om. e f) Petrus: domine, quare (propter quid c) nos non potuimus eicere illum (eum f r, illud c)? quibus (ad ille f) dixit: quoniam (om. f) huiusmodi (eiusmodi ff^2, hoc genus f) orationibus (-ne ff^2) et ieiuniis eicitur (eicietur c, eiciuntur et ieiunio ff^2, non exiet nisi in orationibus et ieiuniis f)|; dixit autem (+iesus r) ad discipulos suos (et discentibus suis e).

[1] The addition of δε (2) is rare; von Soden cites only $I^{δ6}$ K^{i88} (= Ψ, H) and b c e f ff^2 r. It is extremely doubtful whether it stood in the Vorlage, and I unhesitatingly recommend its deletion from Streitberg's text.

	C. A.	e.	f.
i.	qaþ Paitrus frauja	dixit Petrus domine	dixit Petrus domine
ii.	duhve weis ni mahtedum usdreiban þamma	quare nos non potuimus eicere illum	quare nos non potuimus eicere eum
iii.	iþ Iesus qaþ	quibus dixit	ad ille dixit
iv.	þata kuni ni usgaggiþ nibai in bidom jah in fastubnja	quoniam huiusmodi orationibus et ieiuniis eicitur	hoc genus non exiet nisi in orationibus et ieiuniis
v.	qaþ þan du siponjam seinaim	dixit autem et discentibus suis	dixit autem ad discipulos suos

c e f ff² r

i. dixit ei (om. e f) Petrus domine

ii. quare (propter quid c) nos non potuimus eicere illum (eum f r, illud c)

iii. quibus (ad ille f) dixit

iv. quoniam (om. f) huiusmodi (eiusmodi ff², hoc genus f) orationibus (-ne ff²) et ieiuniis eicitur (eicietur c, eiciuntur et ieiunio ff², non exiel nisi in orationibus et ieiuniis f)

v. dixit autem (+iesus r) ad discipulos suos (et discentibus suis e).

The first thing we notice is the complete agreement, word for word, of f with C. A.[1] Indeed, no more striking proof could be furnished of the dependence of f upon the text of C. A. than *ad* (scil. *at*) *ille dixit*, where *ille* betrays misreading or misunderstanding of $\overline{\text{IS}}$ (i. e. Iesus) for the Gothic or Latin dem. pron. *is*, whence the reading *ille* of the Codex Brixianus. Similar mistakes occur elsewhere in the C. A.[2] The apparent discrepancy between *fastubnja* and *ieiuniis* is to be explained as a scribal error; the Latin reading points to *fastubnjam* as the correct Brixian reading, the abbreviation for which—*fastubnjā*—the scribe of C. A. mistook for the singular. The Brixian Gothic *in bidom jah in fastubnjam*, therefore, is after the Latin of f (c e ff² r) against the Greek εν προσευχη και νηστεια of M. and Mk., with which C. A. Mk. ix. 29 *in bidai jah fastubnja* entirely agrees, as it does with the vg. latt. of Mk. ix. 29 *oratione et ieiunio*, M. xvii. 21 *per orationem et ieiunium* (*-ne* et *-io* f).[3]

[1] But cf. Odefey, p. 60, 'Man sieht sofort, dass keine dieser lat. Hss. sich genau mit der gotischen deckt, wenn auch f ihr sehr nahe kommt.'

[2] The Gothic abbreviation for Ιησους is miswritten *is* (thus simulating the dem. pron.), in L. viii. 46, 50; Mk. ix. 39; x. 18, 42; xiv. 62; and in Mk. i. 42 the Gothic demonstrative *is* (= αυτον) has erroneously been written $\overline{\text{IS}}$ (= Jesus).

[3] Odefey (p. 62), 'Der plural *bidom*, der . . . eine feine anpassung an den sinn darstellen dürfte, wohingegen der sing. *fastubnja* engen anschluss an die quelle

Before going on to discuss the relation between C. A. and e, we will speak of the Gothic and Latin conflation generally. It arises, of course, from the parallel passages M. xvii. 19–21 and Mk. ix. 28–9, of which the Greek text is:

M. xvii. 19–20 *δια τι ημεις ουκ ηδυνηθημεν εκβαλειν αυτο; ο δε Ιησους λεγει αυτοις . . .* (21) *τουτο δε το γενος ουκ εκπορευεται ει μη εν προσευχη και νηστειᾳ.*[1]

Mk. ix. 28–29 *οτι ημεις ουκ ηδυνηθημεν εκβαλειν αυτο; και ειπεν αυτοις· τουτο το γενος εν ουδενι δυναται εξελθειν ει μη εν προσευχη και νηστειᾳ.*

The question we have to answer is, have the conflations of C. A. -f and of the group c-e-ff²-r arisen independently, or, if not, which of the two groups is responsible for the reading of the other. Odefey maintains the former opinion, deriving both from the Greek. He says (pp. 61–2): 'So findet endlich aus dem text der parallelstellen selbst die ganze frage eine sehr einfache lösung, indem dadurch klar wird, dass die gotische lesart wort für wort, die lateinische von c e ff² nur unter voraussetzung einer weniger ängstlichen anlehnung der übersetzer ans original, aus dem griechischen wortlaut abgeleitet werden kann . . . Die übereinstimmung zwischen dem gotischen und griechischen text (besonders im Math.) ist so gross, dass dagegen weder die übereinstimmung mit dem lateinischen von c e ff² aufkommen, noch die kleineren abweichungen an dem resultat etwas ändern können, dass wir die dem gotischen entsprechende fassung der parallelstelle in der griechischen quelle Wulfilas voraussetzen müssen—falls sie nicht aus f übernommen ist.'

But Odefey is wrong in his facts. The agreements of C. A. with the Greek and c e f ff² r are as follows:

qaþ Paitrus frauja	e f (*dixit* + *ei* e ff² r).
duhve weis ni mahtedum usdriban imma?	Greek (M. and Mk.), c e f ff² r.
iþ Iesus qaþ	f only.
þata kuni	Greek (Mk.), f.
ni usgaggiþ nibai	Greek (M.), f.
in bidom jah in fastubnja(m)	c e f ff² r.
qaþ þan &c.	b c e f ff² r.

The only part in which C. A. exactly agrees with the Greek against the Latin is in the words *þata kuni* and *ni usgaggiþ nibai*, the former representing the reading of Mk., the latter that of Matth., and in each case f goes with C. A. On the other hand the Latin agrees with the Greek

beweist. Dagegen ist der doppelte plural in f auf das verständliche bestreben nach angleichung des einen im gotischen vorgefundenen singulars an den plural des parallelen satzteiles zurückzuführen . . .' But all this lacks verisimilitude.

[1] This is the received reading; now, however, v. 21 is omitted, with Sin* B 33 &c., as being an interpolation after the text of Mark.

against the Gothic with *quibus* = αυτοις, which C. A. omits, reading *iþ Iesus qaþ* for ο δε Ιησους λεγει αυτοις and και ειπεν αυτοις of Matthew and Mark.

But in three important respects C. A. and c e f ff² r agree against the Greek:

1. *qaþ Paitrus frauja* = *dixit* (*ei*) *Petrus domine.*

2. *in bidom jah in fastubnja*(*m*) = *orationibus et ieiuniis.*

3. *qaþ þan* = *dixit autem*, the addition of *autem* being cited in two Greek MSS., H and ψ, and in b c e f ff² r.

These three readings cannot have arisen independently, and alone the numerical preponderance of c e ff² r over C. A. f, apart from the external probabilities of the case, speak for the Latin origin of the conflation in Gothic. We are prepared to admit the possibility of Gothic influence in e, and, perhaps, of Gothic (Burgundian) agency in some of the Africanisms of c; but we know too little about the provenance of ff² to think of extending the possibility to this ancient MS.,[1] whilst r is apparently of Irish origin.

However, we need hardly more than the agreement of c e ff² r in *quoniam huiusmodi* (*eiusm.* ff²) *orationibus* (*-ne* ff²) *et ieiuniis eicitur* (*-cietur* c, *eiciuntur et ieiunio* ff²) together with what we already know of the Palatinian, to make it certain that we have in the text of c e ff² r a conflation which, originating in the Old Latin, found its way into the Gothic text, apparently by way of the Palatinian Bilingual, and thence into the Brixian. This derives support from the fact that a few verses farther, v. 50, the interpolation *ni ainshun auk ist manne, saei ni gawaurkjai maht in namin meinamma* (after Mk. ix. 39) is shared by a b c e l r *nemo est enim qui non faciat virtutem in nomine meo.* The agreement of e and f *dixit Petrus*, against *dixit ei* c ff² r is most important as showing the chain of descent; the addition of *ei* belongs to the subsequent history of c ff² r.

On the other hand, the freely conceived *quoniam huiusmodi orationibus et ieiuniis eicitur* of the Old Latin has, possibly in post-Palatinian time, been adjusted, in the Gothic text, to the reading of M. xvii. 21 (not extant in C. A.), with only the plural *bidom jah fastubnja*(*m*) to betray its former identity with c e ff² r, whilst the *ieiuniis* of f points to the Brixian *fastubnjam.*

We have in this chain of descent another proof, if such were needed, of the earlier date of the Palatinian Bilingual.

[1] Buchanan in *O.L.B.T.*, v, introd. p. v, 'The early history of the MS. is involved in utter obscurity. The copyist left no record of his name or environment. His work shows him unacquainted with the Latin language.'

§ 2. *Post-Brixian Revisions.*[1]

It is *a priori* very probable that both the Gothic and the Latin text of what once formed the Brixian Bilingual were, subsequently to the dissembling of that work, each separately revised, so that neither the C. A. nor the Codex f exactly represents its ancestor of the bilingual. The Latin portion of the Brixian may therefore have contained many more Gothic renderings than are to be found in f,[2] and where f has reverted to the rendering or reading of the Old Latin or vg., such Gothicisms have disappeared without trace.

It is similarly possible, *a priori*, for the Gothic text to have altered, f on the contrary retaining its former gothicizing reading or rendering.[3] Now this has actually happened, and that in many more instances than we can definitely prove; the few certain cases that we are about to discuss, however, show beyond doubt that the Gothic text has been altered since its partnership with the Old Latin in the Brixian.

M. xxvii. 53 και εξελθοντες . . . εισηλθον . . . και ενεφανισθησαν πολλοις *jah usgaggandans . . . innatgaggandans . . . jah ataugidedun sik managaim* vg. f *et exeuntes . . . venerunt in* (*introierunt* f) . . . *et apparuerunt multis*. As the Gothic text stands, *jah* (2) should be made to precede *innatgaggandans*; nevertheless the copula now occupies its old position, since *innatgaggandans* is a homoioteleutic alteration, after *usgaggandans*, of the correct and original reading *innatiddjedun*, which stood in the Brixian, and is preserved in the *introierunt* of f, against latt. rell. *venerunt*.

L. ix. (1)–2 (. . . νοσους θεραπευειν). και απεστειλεν αυτους . . . ιασθαι τους ασθενουντας. (*sauhtins gahailjan*). *jah insandida ins . . . gahailjan allans þans unhailans*. The last four words in the latt. are vg. latt. *sanare* (*curare* e) *infirmos; aegrotos* a; *omnes infirmitates* f.

The consideration of the rendering *unhailans* contributes an interesting and instructive paragraph to the history of the Gothic text. The Greek ασθενης (4) and ασθενων (6) are elsewhere represented by *siuks* 3.2.3.1. = 9/10 times. *Unhails* occurs only here, once in L. v. 31,[4] and once in 1 Cor. xi. 30. Now *unhailans* is a perfectly sound rendering and, considered by itself, would appear to be nothing more remarkable than one

[1] Cf. Odefey, op. cit., pp. 128–30, 'lesarten, die dem Cod. argenteus verloren gegangen sind.'

[2] E. g., L. v. 19 *qua parte illum inferrent*, of f, in the Brixian probably read *quomodo*: see p. 235.

[3] We may have, in L. vi. 9 *usqistjan*, a post-Palatinian correction to the Western απολεσαι, *perdere*, in view of the isolated *occidere* of e. See p. 115 (L. xx. 14).

[4] For L. v. 31 *þai unhailans*, in contrast to *hailai*, see p. 233 (M. ix. 12). Note 1 Cor. xi. 30 ασθενεις και αρρωστοι *siukai jah unhailai*. Cf. also ασθενει *siuks ist* (*was*) J. xi. 2, 3, 6.

of the exceptional renderings we find so often in Luke. The isolated rendering of the Codex f, however, coupled with the addition of *allans, omnes* in both C. A. and f, show that we have to deal with a conflation that has crept into both texts, evidently from the parallel M. x. 1. The conflations are not identical, however, since *allans þans unhailans* = παντας τους ασθενουντας, whereas *omnes infirmitates* = πασας νοσους, neither of which coincides with the reading of M. x. 1 viz. πασαν νοσον. The most probable explanation is here also the simplest.

Let us set out from the text of M. x. 1, θεραπευειν πασαν νοσον και πασαν μαλακιαν. This is not extant in C. A., but the missing portion can be supplied from M. ix. 35 θεραπευων πασαν νοσον και πασαν μαλακιαν *hailjands allos sauhtins jah alla unhailja*. The text of M. x. 1 will therefore be:

θεραπευειν πασαν νοσον και πασαν μαλακιαν
gahailjan allos sauhtins jah alla unhailja
vg. f *omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem.*

Let it be observed that νοσος is uniformly rendered by *sauhts* 2.0.4.2, which is only used in the plural, even when the Greek word is singular,[1] and this fact will help to explain the plural *alla unhailja*, which seems in any case preferable to the alternative *all unhailje*, the adjectival use of *alls*, in the singular, being found only in the Epistles (cf. *E.B.* § 283, note). *Unhaili* occurs only once more M. ix. 12 *þai unhaili habandans*.[2]

Returning to the text of L. ix. 2 ιασθαι τους ασθενουντας vg. latt. *sanare infirmos*, the original Gothic reading was doubtless *gahailjan þans siukans*.[3] This must have been affected, say in pre-Brixian time,[4] by the parallel (*allos sauhtins jah*) *alla unhailja* of M. x. 1 [5] and altered to *gahailjan alla unhailja* the Latin half of the bilingual conforming with *sanare omnes infirmitates*, thus accounting quite simply for the reading of f. Later, when the Brixian (or its descendant) was dissembled, and the two texts, Gothic and Latin, entered upon a new and independent life, the Gothic text underwent numerous alterations, and the Brixian *alla unhailja*, being compared with the true reading τους ασθενουντας, latt. *infirmos*, was botched up by being

[1] 'Nur im pl. belegt, für sing. steht *siukei*' Streitberg, W.B.

[2] Μαλακια occurs only three times in the N. T., viz. M. iv. 23, ix. 35, x. 1; μαλακος three times, twice in C. A. as *hnasqjaim* M. xi. 8; L. vii. 25.

[3] Cf. L. iv. 40 ασθενουντας *siukans*; so also L. vii. 10 *þana siukan skalk*, L. x. 9 *siukans*.

[4] If, as is highly improbable, the original Brixian had been completely purged of error, this and some other corruptions (cf. p. 210, note) would have to be referred to a bilingual copy made from it (Brix.[2]). Having regard to the permanent possibility that at least one such copy stood between the original Brixian and the actual Argenteus and Brixianus, our 'Brixian' must occasionally be taken to include Brix.[2]

[5] The first Gospel had a paramount influence on the parallel passages of the others: cf. v. Soden, p. 1424.

half-corrected to *allans þans unhailans*. But the rendering *unhailans*, even more than the intruding *allans*, betrays the history of this passage, in which the *omnes infirmitates* of f forms a prominent landmark.

L. ix. 43 The C. A. here reads *fastubnja* which, witness *ieiuniis* of f, probably goes back to a Brixian *fastubnjam*. See pp. 212 ff.

L. xvii. 28 εν ταις ημεραις Λωτ *in dagam Lodis*, vg. *loth*. '*loth* . . . codd. fere omnes nostri et b ff² (v. 28, 32) i l q r δ (non Δ) . . . *lot* M vg. a c d (semper) e f ff² (v. 29) gat. . . . In *loth* h finalem vere aspiratam credimus et litterae t quasi pro tutamento fuisse, cum, gallicismo crescente, t finalis, nude posita, vix audita esset' (Wordsw.-White, ad loc.).

In view of the agreement of c e f with the Greek form Λωτ (only D, v. 32, has Λωθ) we may take the C. A. *Loþ*, *Lodis* to be a late (post-Brixian) alteration to the vg. latt. pler. *loth*.

Mk. iii. 29 ενοχος εστιν αιωνιου αμαρτηματος *aiweinaizos frawaurhtais*, vg. latt. *aeterni delicti* (*peccati* a e). Now f (f r¹ Soden) stands isolated with the *K-reading *iudicii* (κρισεως). Here again f preserves the Brixian Gothic *stauos*, and I should unhesitatingly alter Streitberg's αμαρτηματος to the Antiochian κρισεως, accounting for the present *frawaurhtais* as a post-Brixian alteration. (Cf. Preface, p. 10, and Appendix).

Mk. iv. 19 του αιωνος τουτου *þizos libainais*, vg. *saeculi* ; *saeculi huius* f. The present *libainais* is after L. viii. 14, but *saeculi huius* of f, the only Latin MS. to exhibit the *K-reading τουτου (om. latt. cett.), points to the Brixian whose Gothic read *þis aiwis*. See p. 196.

§ 3. *The Glosses in the C.A. and their bearing on the text-history of the Gothic Gospels.*

(*a*) Marginal Glosses.

The textual history of the Gothic Gospels does not come to an end with the C. A., for even this sumptuous manuscript bears traces of the emendator's zeal. Of the marginal glosses, of which there are 1.0.10.4 = 15,[2] Gabelentz-Loebe (*Prolegomena* xxxii) write: 'In marginibus leguntur . . . lectiones variae et glossae, diversissima ratione scriptae, aliae enim perelegánter (uti ad L. vi. 49; vii. 32; ix. 13), aliae male pictae (uti ad L. vi. 27) aliae ut literarum ductum et colorem inscriptionum

[1] This (? Irish) MS. r (with p) sporadically agrees with the Codex f.

[2] Viz. M. vi. 24; L. iii. 14; v. 28; vi. 27, 40, 49; vii. 32; viii. 27; ix. 13, 34; xvi. 13; Mk. i. 6, 11 [not ii. 13]; v. 4; xii. 24. Streitberg counts five marginal glosses in Mark (see *E.B.* § 11), but this apparently includes Mk. ii. 13, where the scribe, having overlooked the words *jah all manageins iddjedun du imma*, had to find room for them in the margin.

illarum aequiparent; aliae splendorem argenteum servarunt (uti ad Mk. i. 6, 11), aliarum color adeo nigruit, ut an unquam argenteus fuerit, cognosci vix possit. . . .'

A brief inspection of these glosses will help us to understand the interpolations into, and the substitutions for, the original text which appear, some quite clearly, others less certainly, in the text of C. A. In 9 cases the gloss refers to a parallel passage, or to the immediate context. In 7 of these the alternative is synonymous with the word in the text; the gloss to Mk. v. 4, however, shows us a contextual reading in process of being levelled out without regard for the Greek text.

M. vi. 24 μαμωνᾳ *mammonin*: Marg. *faihuþra*, i.e. *faihuþraihna*, referring to that rendering in L. xvi. 9, 11, 13 where, however (L. xvi. 13), we find a marginal cross-reference *mammonim* referring back to the passage in Matthew. Of the two renderings, *mammonin* is probably the original.

L. v. 28 ηκολουθησεν αυτῳ *iddja afar imma*: Marg. *laistida*, bringing the passage into line with v. 27 *laistei afar mis*. *Iddja afar* occurs only here in Luke (p. 74), and altogether only 3.1.1.6 = 11/55 times, against *laistjan* (*afar*) 44/55.

L. vi. 27 αγαπατε τους εχθρους υμων, καλως ποιειτε τοις μισουσιν υμας *frijod þans hatandans izwis, waila taujaid þaim fijandam izwis*: Marg. *hatjandam*. The present text will stand, although εχθρος = *fijands* 3.0.5.1 = 9/10 whilst μισειν also = *fijan* 2.8.5.0 = 15/17 (not, as Streitberg says, usually translated by *hatan*: see his note ad loc.). In this passage, εχθρους appears as *hatandans* to avoid the repetition *fijandans* . . . *fijandam*: cf. the parallel M. v. 44 *frijoþ fijands izwarans* . . . *waila taujaiþ þaim hatjandam izwis*. In the present passage the gloss *hatjandam* may be intended to bring the second word into line with the preceding context, or it may be a correction of *hatandans* to *hatjandans*, the latter form being more familiar to the scribe who, however, wrote *hatjandam* by mistake. Again, the gloss may refer to the reading of the parallel M. v. 44 *waila taujaiþ þaim hatjandam izwis*.

L. vi. 49 ποταμος *flodus*: Marg. *ahva*, bringing v. 49 into line with v. 48 and M. vii. 25, 27.

L. vii. 32 εθρηνησαμεν *gaunodedum*: Marg. *hufum* after M. xi. 17 *huf*[*um*].

L. viii. 27 δαιμονια *unhulþons*: Marg. *skohsla* after M. viii. 31. As the Gk. of M. viii. 31 reads δαιμονες, however, this gloss may possibly refer to L. viii. 29 υπο του δαιμονος, in which case *skohsla* would be dative sing. Cf. p. 88, note 1.

L. xvi. 13: see M. vi. 24.

Mk. v. 4 δαμασαι *manna ni mahta ina gatamjan*: Marg. *gabindan* evidently

from the previous verse. Cf. the isolated δησαι ℓ δαμασαι in the Codex Alexandrinus.

Mk. xii. 24 τας γραφας *mela*: Marg. *bokos*, inspired perhaps by v. 26 *ana bokom Mosezis*, translating εν τη βιβλῳ Μωσεως. *Bokos* = αι γραφαι occurs only once in the text (Mk. xiv. 49), otherwise *gameleins*, *þata gamelido*, *mela* 9/10.

Other glosses are alternative renderings either indicating a simple preference or intended for the improvement or the correction of the text.

L. iii. 14 ἀρκεισθε *waldaiþ*: Marg. *ganohidai sijaiþ* (*contenti estote*). The correction is well needed.

L. vi. 40 κατηρτισμενος *gamanwids*: Marg. *ustauhans* (vg. latt. *perfectus*; R. V. when he is perfected). *Gamanwids* is the literal rendering, but here less correct than *ustauhans*, which means complete, finished, perfect = τελειος, rather than ετοιμος, ready, and is, perhaps, suggested by the Latin. For the same use of *ustauhans* cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 11 καταρτιζεσθε *ustauhanai sijaiþ* 'be perfected'.

L. ix. 13 τον λαον *manaseidai*; Marg. *managein*. The text is wrong, and the gloss a justified correction: see p. 134.

L. ix. 34 εφοβηθησαν δε εν τῳ εκεινους εισελθειν εις την νεφελην *faurhtidedun þan in þammei jainai qemun in þamma milhmin*: Marg. *jah at im in milhmam atgaggandam*. With the intrusive *jah* cf. b f l q *et intrantibus illis in nubem*.

Mk. i. 6 αγριον *haiþiwisk*: Marg. *wilþi*. Neither word occurs again in the Gospels; but cf. αγριελαιος *wilþeis alewabagms* Rom. xi. 17, 24.

Mk. i. 11 εν ῳ ευδοκησα *in þusei* (= εν σοι, lat. *te*, but *K ῳ after M. iii. 17; here perhaps altered from an original *þammei*) *waila galeikaida*: Marg. *þukei wilda*, 'I wanted "*þukei*"', written by a corrector who preferred the acc. construction 'zur bezeichnung der gesinnung u. handlung gegen' (*W. B.*), and was evidently annoyed to find his emendation ignored.

Thus we find, even among the 15 marginal glosses that have, apparently by different hands, found their way into the C. A., a varied selection of the means whereby different renderings, latinisms, parallelisms and contextual corruptions have crept into the text of the Gothic Gospels. We have already mentioned the possibility that some of the *wulthres* may have found their way, in subsequent copies of the Brixian Gothic, into the text and so into the C. A. If it happened that some of the *wulthres*, not actually corrupting the text, yet survived as marginal glosses in the C. A., then, of the glosses we have examined, the most likely to have been originally *wulthres* would be *ganohidai sijaiþ*, *ustauhans*, *jah at im in milhmam atgaggandam*.

(*b*) Interpolated Glosses.

Some disturbances in the text of C. A. have arisen from the fact that marginal glosses have been absorbed into the text at some time. Here we will deal only with marginal glosses—synonyms or explanatory notes—that have found a place in the text side by side with the original reading. A number of conflations and substitutions resulting from marginal references to parallel passages have been treated elsewhere.

J. xiv. 2 ει δε μη, ειπον αν υμιν *aþþan niba weseina aiþþau qeþau þu izwis*, vg. *si quo minus ; alioquin* f. The words *aþþan niba weseina* may be a paraphrasing gloss on *aiþþau*, just as in L. xiv. 32 we find *jabai nist mahteigs*, originally glossing the same word, intruded into the text. For *aiþþau* = ει δε μη(γε) see M. vi. 1 ; ix. 17 ; L. v. 36, &c. But cf. Bernhardt (ad loc.) 'Hier steht *aiþþau*, den bedingungssatz recapitulierend, für *αν*'.

J. xviii. 7 παλιν ουν αυτους επηρωτησεν *þaþroh þan ins aftra frah*. The Greek adverb = *aftra* 3.11.0.20 = 34/34 times. The intrusion of *þaþroh þan* seems to have disturbed the original order, but the intention of the glossator is not clear. *þaþroh þan* strictly means τοτε, ειτα, επειτα, and so would seem to be a bad piece of work here. Nevertheless there is one instance in 1 Cor. vii. 5 where *þaþroh þan* = και παλιν, being, perhaps, a dialectal variant of the otherwise universal *aftra*.

L. i. 28 *anstai audahafta* : see pp. 129–30.

L. i. 29 διεταραχθη επι τῳ λογῳ αυτου και διελογιζετο ποταπος ειη ο ασπασμος ουτος *gaþlahsnoda bi innatgahtai is jah þahta sis hveleika wesi so goleins* [*þatei swa þiuþida izai*]. The Latin a b e ff² l q r read *turbata est in introitu* (*-tum* e l*) *eius* (but *in verbo* f, *sermone* vg.), *et erat cogitans quod sic benedixisset eam* (*recogitans quia sic benedixit eam* e). In the present passage, *bi innatgahtai is*, after the Old Latin, has duly replaced the original reading *bi waurda is*, but the Latin reading *þatei swa þiuþida izai* stands side by side with the original *hveleika wesi so goleins*, which it was intended to replace. The same conflation is found in g, with *et* before *quod*, whilst f, with *cogitabat qualis esset haec salutatio quod sic benedixisset eam* agrees verbatim with the C. A.

L. i. 63 και αιτησας πινακιδιον εγραψε λεγων *ip is sokjands spilda* [*nam*] *ga*[*h*]*melida*. The intrusive *nam* is after the Old Latin *accepit* of b c ff² l q r ; see p. 175.

L. ii. 2 ηγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου *at* [*wisandin kindina Swriasis*] *raginondin Saurim Kwreinaiau*. The words in brackets were originally a marginal alternative rendering by a later hand. Cf. L. iii 1 *raginondin Puntiau Peilatau Iudaia*.

L. ii. 29 δεσποτα *fraujinond frauja*: the first word, probably, is the intruder; see p. 30.

L. viii. 1 εν τῳ καθεξης *biþe* [*afar þata*].

L. xiv. 32 ει δε μηγε *aiþþau* [*jabai nist mahteigs*]: cf. J. xiv. 2 above. The Brixianus has *si autem impossibilis est*, without *alioquin* or its equivalent, which has been, since the Brixian, deleted as superfluous; nevertheless it is also possible that the combination *jabai nist mahteigs* and *si autem impossibilis est* stood as the reading of the Brixian Bilingual, in which case *aiþþau* would be a post-Brixian intrusion, the glossator's intention having been to restore the original Wulfilian reading, which was *aiþþau*. Thus we should have to assume three stages: (1) Wulfilian *aiþþau*; (2) Brixian *jabai nist mahteigs*; (3) post-Brixian *aiþþau jabai nist mahteigs*.

L. xix. 7 παρα αμαρτωλῳ ανδρι *du frawaurhtis mans* [*in gard*]: *in gard* is an explanatory gloss to *frawaurhtis mans*, with which cf. L. viii. 49 *fram þis fauramaþleis*.

Mk. ii. 4 χαλωσιν τον κραβαττον *insailidedun þata badi jah fralailotun*, vg. f *summiserunt grabattum*. *Fralailotun þata badi* would have been a competent as well as typical rendering. We cannot be sure, however, whether the explanatory *insailidedun* was at first a gloss, or whether the whole phrase is original: cf. chap. x, § 1.

Mk. ii. 12 ωστε . . . και δοξαζειν τον θεον *swaswe* . . . *jah hauhidedun mikiljandans guþ*. It seems very probable that the intruder is *mikiljandans*, from the parallel L. v. 26, which may have replaced an older rendering in M. ix. 8 (see pp. 172 and 238). Another pointer in the same direction is the fact that M. ix. 8 reads εθαυμασαν *ohtedun sildaleikjandans* from L. and Mk., unless the conflation is the result, in Matthew, of the competing readings εφοβηθησαν and εθαυμασαν.

Mk. v. 3–4 *eisarnicinaim* may be an explanatory gloss: see pp. 152 ff.

Mk. xi. 2 υπαγετε εις την κωμην .. . και ευθεως εισπορευομενοι εις αυτην *gaggats in haim* . . . *jah sunsaiw inngaggandans in þo* [*baurg*] vg. f *ite in castellum* . . . *introeuntes illud* (*in eum* f). Bernhardt (whom Streitberg cites) says '*Baurg* halte ich für eine in den text gedrungene glosse zu *haim*, veranlasst durch das *castellum* oder *municipium*, das in der Itala für κωμην steht'. *Baurg* is certainly a gloss, and a bad one at that, but the second part of Bernhardt's statement is wrong. The Greek noun regularly = *haims* 1.0.9.2, *weihs* 0.2.0.4, whereas *baurgs* always renders πολις. In the 18 passages where *weihs*, *haims* occur in the C. A., the Old Latin MSS. have chiefly *castellum* and *municipium*, occasionally *vicus*, so that *baurg* in the present instance is not likely to have been influenced by the Itala. The question is, rather, whether *baurgs* is just an explanatory gloss to *þo*, or whether it was intended by an eccentric

glossator to replace *haim*, being subsequently copied into the wrong place. Cf. πολιν ἡ κωμην, in 7 minuscules of the 11th–13th century (von Soden).

§ 4. *Revision of the Gothic text with Greek MSS.*

Notwithstanding the increasingly great influence of the Old Lat. there is evidence to show that the Gothic text was compared, how often or how thoroughly, or with what type of text, we cannot tell, with the *ipsa auctoritas*. Where the Greek text was good, and the Gothic properly conformed to it, the revision would naturally not leave any trace in the C. A., so that most of the instances we are about to give are examples of blundering readings that owe their existence to the fact that some graphic variant, such as ει for η, ουτος for ουτως, τις for τίς has been taken at its face value; or they result from the confusion of pairs of words of similar appearance, such as πεπληρωκεν-πεπωρωκεν, κλησις-παρακλησις, κεκοιμημενων-κειμενων, τρυφῃ-τροφῃ, ετι-οτι, καθηκαν-κατεθηκαν. It is immaterial whether the Greek text actually proferred such reading, or whether the more familiar and more plausible form insinuated itself into the writer's mind.[1]

We have already protested against the general reference to Wulfila or to his Vorlage as the source of these and similar errors. We shall be much nearer the truth if we ascribe these errors to post-Wulfilian revisions with Greek MSS. Moreover, we would place the grosser errors late in the history of the text, on the ground that obvious blunders, disturbing the sense, and contrasting sharply with the Latin readings, would not survive for long, unless we are to assume the generation previous to the C. A. to have been, in the history of the Gothic language and textual scholarship, an age of more than incipient decadence.

Two of our examples, from Mk. ii. 27 and Mk. viii. 17, involve a choice of reading. This opens up a very wide question: To what extent may the Western readings in the C. A. be attributed to the Wulfilian Greek text? To what extent are they the outcome of revisions with Greek MSS. of the *I-type, or the result of irreptions from the Old Latin?

Von Soden (p. 1469) has said 'Zuweilen trifft es sich, dass eine der für *I* nicht völlig sicheren lesarten bei Ulfilas erscheint. Leider kommt seiner stimme da oft genug kein volles gewicht zu, da zwar seine abhängigkeit von einem der anderen griechischen vertreter der stelle nicht zu erweisen ist, seine beeinflussung durch lat., wo diese lesarten

[1] Cf. L. vi. 44, where the Greek τρυγαν has somehow suggested the blundering *trudan*.

sich meist auch finden, aber ausser zweifel steht.' Odefey (p. 19) comments on this passage as follows: 'Aus diesem urteil v. Sodens dürfte man wohl die stimme seiner gewährsmänner und ihrer auffassung heraushören. Ganz sicher scheint mir v. Soden seiner sache auch selbst nicht gewesen zu sein, da er nur von einem '*oft*' redet. Hier wäre bei der allgemein anerkannten treue der gotischen übersetzung und überlieferung doch etwas mehr von Wredes konservativer praxis am platze gewesen. Schon v. Sodens eigene beobachtung, dass die quelle der gotischen Bibel mit keiner der vorhandenen *K-I*-textmischungen sich völlig decke, hätte ihm hier als warnung dienen können.' Now, it is just that unhomogeneity of type that argues in favour of the non-Antiochian readings having casually, and subsequently to the original translation, crept into the Gothic text. See also Preface, pp. 9 ff.

Odefey here errs in underrating the influence of the Old Lat. version on the C. A., which was far more extensive than some of the later Germanists are inclined to admit. As a general principle, we believe it to be a sounder, or at any rate less harmful policy to reduce the number of *I*-readings in the text of the Vorlage, than generously[1] to add to them in order to strengthen the authority of the Gothic text. This proceeding is only a degree less mischievous than Jülicher's well-meant but mistaken plan of a literal retranslation of the Argentean text as it stands.

The problem of the 'Western' text and its place in the history of the N. T. is a serious and important one, and the Germanist is rendering a disservice to N. T. criticism by giving the authority of the Wulfilian Greek to any more than the possible minimum of Western readings in the C. A. In the absence of evidence, the only course consistent with safety is the conservative policy of Streitberg and von Soden.

Streitberg's Vorlage is the result of very sound judgement, and his attitude towards this question is very fair. He has briefly explained his position on p. xlv of his *Gotische Bibel*, and his words (see my Preface, p. 9) express my view exactly; and if I have had the temerity here and there to propose a different reading for the Vorlage—usually a *K-reading where Streitberg has adopted an *I-reading—it is only as the result of conclusions to which, rightly or wrongly, my analysis of the Argentean renderings has led me. Here follow a few Gothic readings for which a reading—or misreading—of the Greek text is directly responsible. M. vi. 24 η γαρ τον ενα μισησει . . . η κτλ. *unte jabai fijaiþ*

[1] Cf. Odefey, p. 26, 'So dürfen wir immerhin mit einem gewissen grad von wahrscheinlichkeit manche Lesarten, in denen der Codex D allein genau zum Gotischen stimmt, *bei der nicht genug zu betonenden güte der gotischen überlieferung* der quelle des Goten zuweisen.'

.. *aiþþau*, vg. f latt. *aut enim . . . aut.* Since the correlation *jabai . . . aiþþau* turns this passage into nonsense, it is clear that *jabai* can only be accounted for by the revisor (surely not the translator)[1] having read ει for η, which in a Greek MS. is a scribal variant of no textual significance. Von Soden cites five MSS. that present this graphic variant. Since this error was liable to occur at any time, not even the oldest and best MSS. being free from mistakes of this nature—three of the witnesses cited are old and valuable uncials, viz. Sin L Σ—it is possible, however improbable, that ει was the reading of the Wulfilian Greek; but the variant is so trivial, and the translator's scholarship so sound, and the likelihood that a self-evident error should be perpetuated in the Gothic text so remote, that we prefer to ascribe the Argentean *jabai* to a more recent revision.

M. xxvii. 52 των κεκοιμημενων αγιων *þize ligandane weihaize*, vg. f *qui dormierant.* An extraordinary rendering, suggested to some revisor or scribe—hardly to the translator[2]—by the superficial resemblance of κεκοιμημενων to κειμενων, which is a reading nowhere preserved. Similarly, in writing *trudanda* for τρυγωσι (L. vi. 44, p. 177) some one has been misled by the similarity of sound, whilst in L. vii. 25 *fodeinai* (p. 132). τρυφη has been confused with τροφη. The reading is plausible, and this may account for the extraordinary agreement of d *aepulatione*, although this is far from being the only instance where C. A. is supported by d in a curious or isolated reading.

J. xv. 5 ουτος φερει καρπον πολυν *swa bairiþ akran manag*, vg. f *hic.* This is in all probability a scribal error in C. A. for *sa* (thus also Bernhardt). Alternatively we may derive the Argentean reading, with Streitberg, from the graphic variant ουτως for ουτος, for which von Soden cites M*, r and two twelfth-century minuscules. Cf. M. vi. 24 above.

J. xvi. 6 πεπληρωκεν *gadaubida.* This is reminiscent of J. xii. 40 or Mk. viii. 17 (see p. 230), although there is also the possibility of direct confusion with the Greek πεπωρωκεν (= J. xii. 40) in the revising MS. 'Vulfila las in seiner griechischen Vorlage πεπωρωκεν' Bernhardt.

L. ii. 25 παρακλησιν *laþonais.* Here *laþonais* seems to be occasioned by the obtrusion of the second element -κλησις, see p. 131.

L. v. 19 καθηκαν αυτον *gasatidedun ina*, vg. f *summiserunt*: e has *deposuerunt* with Goth. As in Mk. xv. 46 κατεθηκεν appears, correctly, as *galagida*, so in the present passage *gasatidedun* represents κατεθηκαν.

[1] 'Wulfila scheint ει gelesen zu haben (GL)', Bernhardt, ad loc.

[2] 'Hier wol ligan der alliteration mit leika zu liebe'. Thus Bernhardt. See above, p. 33, note 1.

possibly through direct comparison with a Greek MS. This reading is, however, nowhere recorded, and is in Gothic plausible enough to have arisen in that version, if not in the original itself. This would account for the reading *deposuerunt* in e. See p. 142.

L. vi. 44 ουδε εκ βατου τρυγωσι σταφυλην *gaudanda weinabagja*. This plausible rendering is occasioned by the superficial resemblance between the Gothic *gaudan* (= πατειν) and the Greek τρυγαν (= *vindemiare*). For the passive, see p. 177.

L. vii. 25 τρυφη *fodeinai*: see M. xxvii. 52 above, and p. 132.

L. xv. 8 ... τις γυνη *aiþþau sumo gino*, vg. e f *quae mulier*. The inept *sumo* is easily explained as the result of reference to, and misunderstanding of, the Greek, probably late[1] in the history of the Gothic text, for the Latin *quae mulier* would, especially in the bilinguals, be a perpetual challenge to the Gothic reading, even if the ineptitude of the latter had, during a century and a half of scrutiny, copying, and revision, failed to attract attention. On the other hand, *sumo gino* may, without reference to any Greek, be the result of a very ordinary aberration of mind on the part of the copyist: cf. v. 11 *manna sums*.

Mk. ii. 27 το σαββατον δια τον ανθρωπον εγενετο *sabbate in mans waurþ gaskapans*, vg. f *factum est* (deficiunt a e ff[2] i). The original version may well have ended at *waurþ*: cf. L. viii. 38 πριν Αβρααμ γενεσθαι εγω ειμι *faurþizei Abraham wisandin, ik im*. This unique rendering may derive from the Greek variant εκτισθη, for which Tischendorf cites the late minuscules 1.131.209 and the Syriac. Cf. von Soden εκτισθη ¶ εγενετο (1 Cor. xi. 9), citing 014 (= Greg. 032) and six MSS. of the 11th–14th centuries. The first-named is an old and valuable MS. of the fifth century, which possesses a number of old readings, so possibly *gaskapans* goes back to the Vorlage. The passage cited by Streitberg and v. Soden as the possible source of a reminiscent reading, viz. ουκ εκτισθη ανηρ δια την γυναικα seems very remote from the present passage.

Mk. viii. 17 ουπω νοειτε ουδε συνιετε, οτι πεπωρωμενην εχετε την καρδιαν *unte daubata habaiþ hairto izwar*. See p. 237.

[1] Cf. above, p. 223. Streitberg, ad loc., says 'Falsche auffassung von τις γυνη der vorlage'. So Bernhardt, 'Vom übersetzer falsch als indefinitum aufgefasst: seine hs. hatte keine accente.'

XVII

GOTHIC PARALLELS

One of the strongest witnesses to the long textual history of the Gothic Gospels is the number of passages that have been influenced by the parallel passages, or by the reminiscence of similar or more familiar phrases and turns of speech. We have already seen examples of such assimilation *in loco* when discussing the Marginal Glosses (chap. xvi, § 3); we now come to conformations that are, in the C. A., an accomplished fact.

Similar parallelisms and reminiscences are very numerous not only in all Greek MSS, but existed already in the three archetypes from which these MSS. were descended. On this question v. Soden writes (p. 1422): 'Der textus prior teilt die variantes zwischen den drei recensionen ab . . . durch parallelentwirkungen ernanden. Und zwar nicht nur entsprechungen der genauen parallelen, sondern auch blosz verwandte stellen, ja bloss verwandte wendungen, reminiszenzen an geläufige sätze der worte wirken, um bestimmte gestaltungen und unterlassungen, auf die gestaltung des textes einzugehen zu sein.'

It is therefore not surprising to find similar disturbances in the witnesses of the Latin and Gothic versions. It is important, however, to distinguish, in the latter, between parallelisms that derive from the Greek text underlying them, as have crept in from Latin and, thirdly, such parallelisms as have arisen within the Gothic text itself. Thus also Streitberg, *G.B.* Introd. xvii: 'So ist es selbstverständlich, dasz wir auch in der got. Bibel auf schritt und tritt (am stärksten im Matthaeus) dem einfluss der parallelstellen begegnen. Die durch veranlassten Änderungen gehören zu einem teil natürlich schon der griechischen vorlage an, zu einem anderen teil verdanken sie der lateinischen Bibel ihr dasein, ein dritter teil endlich, dessen umfang und bedeutung nicht unterschätzt werden darf, ist gotischen sondergut, ist das ergebnis der textkritischen bemühungen gotischer lehrer von denen schon früher die rede gewesen ist.'

I purpose here to give such instances as I have collected showing the influence, on the Gothic text, of its own parallel passages. The material ought to be fairly complete, so far as it goes; but the reader must note that three classes of Gothic deviations from the text of

Streitberg which, when analysed, will be found to include a number of cases where deviation is due to the influence of parallels, have not been included in the following account. They are:

1. Additions to the text approx. 21.24.78.44 = 167
2. Omissions from the text „ 10.35.35.40 = 120
3. Change in word-order „ 11.25.41.34 = 111.

It should be understood, moreover, that the following parallelisms are peculiar to the Gothic; such as the Gothic shares with both Greek and Latin, or with the Latin text alone,[1] or—very rarely—with the Greek text alone, are not included here.[2]

Of the latter class I have collected:

1. Parallels common to Goth.-Gk.-Lat. 2.3.16.22 = 43
2. „ „ Goth.Lat. 2.4. 7. 4 = 17
3. „ „ Goth.-Gk. 1.0. 0. 1 = 2.

By this division I do not suggest that a reminiscence in the Gothic, that has affected also the Greek or Latin (or both), cannot have arisen independently in Gothic, or in either of the other Versions; nor, conversely, that a parallelism peculiar to the Gothic text may not derive from a Greek or Latin reading not surviving in existing MSS.;[3] the division, however, is obvious and practical, and will serve as a basis for further investigation.

The following examples have been divided into two main divisions, according as the source of influence is more remote—as in the case of parallel passages in different Gospels—or is to be sought for in the immediate context.

Yet a third group evidences the levelling-out, sometimes in mere trifles, of parallels in the first three Gospels.

§ 1. *Gothic Parallels from influences more remote.*

M. v. 26 του εσχατον κοδραντην *þana minnistan kintu* vg. f latt. *novissimum quadrantem*. Here the Gothic should read *þana aftumistan* (*kintu*). *Minnistan* looks a likely rendering of λεπτον, which occurs in the parallel L. xii. 59 το εσχατον λεπτον, where the vg. reads correctly *novissimum minutum*, against f latt. rell. *quadrantem* (from Matthew). *Minnistan*, intended perhaps to replace *kintu* in the present passage, may have erroneously been substituted for **aftumistan*. Unfortunately

[1] Excepting in so far as e and f are influenced by the Gothic. These, and a few doubtful cases where C. A. goes with e, have been admitted.

[2] A few instances have been admitted where the Greek support is confined to one (or two) MSS., all, with one exception, of late date.

[3] Cf. M. v. 41 (p. 233), where the Gothic reading is paralleled in Iren. and Chrys., but in no existing Greek MS. of the Gospels.

L. xii. 59 is wanting in C. A., as is Mk. xii. 42, where both κοδραντης and λεπτον are found together.

M. viii. 2 λεπρος προσελθων προσεκυνει αυτῳ *durinnands inwait ina*, vg. latt. *veniens adorabat*. Elsewhere προσελθειν = *du)atgaggan* 20/21. Here reminiscent: cf. Mk. ix. 15 *durinnandans* (προστρεχοντες) *inwitun ina*, which in turn has been influenced by the present passage. (See below, p. 232.) Also Mk. v. 6 *rann* (εδραμεν) *jah inwait ina*; Mk. x. 17 *duatrinnands* (προσδραμων) *ains jah knussjands*.

M. ix. 12 ου χρειαν εχουσιν οι ισχυοντες ιατρου *ni þaurbun hailai lekeis*, vg. latt. *valentibus*: *sani* f, after Gothic. Here *hailai* is from L. v. 31 *hailai*, vg. latt. *sani*, the Greek reading υγιαινοντες. The correct rendering of ισχυοντες is seen in the parallel Mk. ii. 17 *ni haurbun swinþai lekeis*. See also p. 233 (M. ix. 12).

M. x. 40 τον αποστειλαντα με *þana sandjandan mik*. Elsewhere αποστελλειν regularly = *insandjan* 54/60 times. Here the translation is after the rendering of the commoner τον πεμψαντα με (in John), which is regularly translated by *þana sandjandan mik*, &c. Thus also L. ix. 48; x. 16; and Mk. ix. 37. See p. 62.

M. xxv. 45 των ελαχιστων *þize leitilane*, vg. f *minoribus*; *minimus* a c e ff^2; cf. των μικρων M. xviii. 6; L. xvii. 2 (neither extant in C. A.). Soden cites one (11th cent.) MS. for this reading.

M. xxvi. 75 πριν αλεκτορα φωνησαι *faur hanins hruk* (so also Cod. Ambros.); cf. Mk. xiv. 72 *faurþize hana hrukjai*. Reminiscent of Mk. xiii. 35 αλεκτοροφωνιας (wanting in C. A.). Von Soden cites three late MSS. for the same.

M. xxvii. 58 εκελευσεν αποδοθηναι *uslaubida giban*, vg. f latt. *iussit*. The present reading is from the parallel (unfortunately wanting in C. A.) J. xix. 38 επετρεψεν ο Πιλατος. There is also the contextual influence of ητησατο *baþ*, which would conduce to the corresponding *uslaubida*.

J. vi. 15 γνους οτι μελλουσιν ερχεσθαι *þatei munaidedun usgaggan*, vg. f *venturi essent*. *Usgaggan* represents the Greek verb only here, where it derives from the parallels M. xxvi. 55, L. xxii. 52, and Mk. xiv. 48 εξηλθετε *urrunnuþ*. The first two are wanting in C. A.

J. vi. 27 την απολλυμενην *þana fralusanan* (L. xix. 10): see p. 124.

J. vii. 12 οτι αγαθος εστιν *sumaih qeþun þatei sunjeins ist*, vg. c e *bonus*; *verax* f, after the Gothic. This passage is vaguely reminiscent of other contexts: cf. Streitberg 'auffällige änderung; vgl. Kap. VIII.' Elsewhere αγαθος = *piuþeigs, goþs* 14/15.

J. ix. 16 και σχισμα ην εν αυτοις *jah missaqiss warþ miþ im*. *Warþ* stands here as if translating γεγονεν, ην being interpreted ingressively. Ειναι is regularly represented by *wisan*, only the perfective future εσεσθαι

being translated by *wairþan*; ηv should appear as *was*, the present being the only exception I have seen (see p. 65). This passage is apparently under the influence of J. vii. 43, x. 19 σχισμα . . . εγενετο *missaqiss . . . warþ*.

J. xiii. 36 απεκριθη ο Ιησους *andhafjands Iesus qaþ*. Generally reminiscent of similar phrases (M. viii. 8; xi. 4, &c.). [Cf. von Soden και ειπεν p. απεκ. Ta, p Is pa syp]. So also J. xviii. 5 απεκριθησαν αυτῳ *andhafjandans imma qeþun*; J. xviii. 37 απεκριθη ο Ιησους *andhafjands Iesus qaþ*. Codex f (J. xviii. 5) has *respondentes ei dixerunt*, after the Gothic. [Cf. von Soden απεκρ. και ειπον αυτῳ 129 A^3.]

J. xvi. 6 πεπληρωκεν *gadaubida izwar hairto*. Cf. J. xii. 40 πεπωρωκεν *gadaubida ize hairtona*, or Mk. viii. 17 *daubata* (πεπωρωμενην) *habaiþ hairto izwar*. See also p. 225.

J. xviii. 5, 37: see above, J. xiii. 36.

J. xviii. 32: see Appendix.

L. i. 75 εν οσιοτητι και δικαιοσυνῃ *in sunjai jah garaihtein*, vg. f latt. *in sanctitate et iustitia*; *in veritate et iust.* e. The same phrase, in inverse order, occurs Eph. iv. 24 εν δικαιοσυνῃ και οσιοτητι (της αληθειας), where the Goth translates, correctly, *in garaihtein jah weihipai* (*sunjos*). The present passage is reminiscent of passages in which δικαιοσυνη and αληθεια occur together, as in Eph. v. 9 δικαιοσυνῃ και αληθειᾳ *garaihtein jah sunjai*; ibid. vi. 14 *sunjai . . . garaihteins*. In the Old Testament cf. also 1 Kings iii. 6 εν αληθειᾳ και εν δικαιοσυνῃ. See also p. 186. Odefey's comment (p. 83) is 'Mißverständnis Wulfilas'.

L. iv. 9 και ηγαγεν αυτον *þaþroh galauh ina*, vg. latt. *et duxit*; *iterum* e; *deinde* f, after the Gothic. Cf. the parallel M. iv. 5 τοτε παραλαμβανει αυτον. Τοτε, επ)ειτα = *þaþroh*.

L. iv. 33 πνευμα δαιμονιου ακαθαρτου *ahman unhulþons unhrainjana*: see p. 142.

L. iv. 43 εις τουτο απεσταλμαι *unte duþe mik insandida*, vg. latt. *missus sum*. The proper rendering would have been *insandiþs im*, (*was*, *warþ*); cf. L. i. 19, 26 *insandiþs im* (απεσταλην), *insandiþs was* (απεσταλη). The present reading is due to the frequent occurrence, in John, of the phrase *sa(i) insandida mik* (ο πεμψας με), and, in oblique cases, *þana sandjandan mik*. Note, too, just above L iv. 18 απεσταλκεν με *insandida mik*.

L. v. 1 εγενετο δε *jah warþ*: generally reminiscent, and of no significance. Alterations of this kind are not infrequent.

L. v. 3 απο της γης *fairra staþa*. The reading *staþa*, which derives from M. xiii. 2 ο οχλος επι τον αιγιαλον εστηκει, is in Luke peculiar to C. A., whereas in the parallel Mk. iv. 1 the same intrusion of the text of

Matthew is shared by the Old Lat., including e, and the 5th cent. uncial numbered by von Soden 014 (= Gregory 032).

L. v. 10 εση ζωγρων *manne siud nutans*, vg. *homines eris capiens*; *hominum eritis captores* f; *faciam enim vos piscatores hominum* e. For the plural cf. M. iv. 19; M. i. 17 (q. v., below).

L. vi. 32–4 ποια υμιν χαρις εστιν *ƕa izwis laune ist*, vg. latt. *gratia*; *retributio* f, *mercis* r. *Laun* will hardly pass muster as a rendering of χαρις. If *ansts* = *gratia* seemed too literal, there was *þagk* (L. xvii. 9 = χαρις) available. *Laune* is from the parallel M. v. 46 *ƕo mizdono* (μισθον) *habaiþ*, M. vi. 1 *laun ni habaiþ*. Codex f follows the Gothic.

L. viii. 4 οχλου πολλου *hiumam managaim*, vg. latt. *turba*, &c. 'Plural nach M. xiii. 2' (Streitb.). This is not unlikely: see p. 103.

L. ix. 2 τους ασθενουντας *allans þans unhailans*. For an account of this interesting conflation with the text of M. ix. 35; x. 1 see pp. 216 ff.

L. ix. 12 ινα . . . ευρωσιν επισιτισμον *ei bugjaina sis matins*, vg. latt. *ut inveniant* (+*sibi* e r); *emant sibi escas* f, after Gothic, which here follows the parallel M. xiv. 15 (cf. Mk. vi. 36) αγορασωσιν εαυτοις βρωματα, neither extant in C. A.

L. ix. 48; x. 16 see above, under M. x. 40.

L. xvi. 16 πας εις αυτην βιαζεται *ƕazuh in izai naubjada*. The Greek verb is construed as passive, perhaps after M. xi. 12: p. 145.

L. xix. 12 επορευθη εις χωραν μακραν *gaggida landis*. Cf. L. xv. 13 *in land fairra ƕisando*. Here *gaggida landis* represents the reading of M. xxv. 15 (wanting in C. A.) απεδημησεν. (Thus also Streit., ad loc.) *Gaggida* for *iddja* occurs only here.

L. xix. 23 επι τραπεζαν *du skattjam*, vg. latt. *ad mensam*; *nummulariis* e f, after the Gothic (p. 186), which takes this reading from M. xxv. 27 τοις τραπεζειταις. Cf. Mk. xi. 15 τας τραπεζας των κολλυβιστων *mesa skattjane*. Loebe compares 1 Cor. x. 25 εν μακελλῳ *at skiljam*.

L. xx. 6 πεπεισμενος γαρ εστιν Ιωαννην προφητην ειναι *triggwaba galaubjand auk allai*. The interpolated *allai* is from the parallels M. xxi. 26 (παντες γαρ ως προφητην εχουσιν) and Mk. xi. 32, or from the preceding context πας ο λαος *alla so manageí*. See also p. 151.

L. xx. 21 ου λαμβανεις προσωπον *ni andsaihvis andƕairþi*, vg. f latt. *accipis*. The Greek verb = *niman* 47, *andniman* 8/62. Here we should expect *andnimis*; *andsaihvis* is evidently after the parallels M. xxii. 16; Mk. xii. 14 ου γαρ βλεπεις εις προσωπον ανθρωπων *ni auk saihvis in andwairþja manne*. *Andsaihvan* occurs only here in C. A. and once in the Epistles, and the unusual prefix gives us the clue to the original *andnimis* which was half altered to *andsaihvis* after *saihvis* (βλεπεις) of the parallels.

Mk. i. 4 εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων *daupein idreigos du aflageinai fraƕaurhte*.

Cf. 1 Pet. iii. 21 βαπτισμα, ου σαρκος αποθεσις ρυπου, αλλα συνειδησεως αγαθης επερωτημα εις θεον. See p. 115.

Mk. i. 17 αλιεις ανθρωπων *nutans manne*, vg. latt. *piscatores*. The proper rendering is *fiskja*; here *nutans* after L. v. 10 (q.v. above) *siud nutans*, the plural of which is, reciprocally, after the text of Mark.

Mk. i. 40: see p. 181.

Mk. ii. 12: see p. 222.

Mk. ii. 22 βλητεον *giutand*, vg. latt. *mitti debet*; *mittunt* et. The Gothic is from M. ix. 17 βαλλουσιν *giutand*. The parallel L. v. 38 (βλητεον) *giutand* may also be from Matthew, but there the Goth has the support of Sin* D βαλλουσιν, and a b c d (*mittent*) e f ff² l q r aur *mittunt*, so cannot be included here. For βλητεον the Goth could have written *giutan skuld ist*.

Mk. iii. 6 οπως αυτον απολεσωσιν *ei imma usqemeina*, vg. latt. *perderent*. The Greek verb is only here translated by *usqiman*; elsewhere *fraqistjan*, *-nan* 33, *usqistjan* 5, (*fraliusan* 9) = 47/48. On the other hand, αποκτειναι is regularly represented by *usqiman* 2.10.3.7, also by *usqistjan* three times[1] and *afslahan* twice (cf. p. 124, J. vi. 27). The present rendering is reminiscent of similar passages where the Greek reads αποκτειναι, e.g. M. xxvi. 4; Mk. xiv. 1; J. xi. 53.

Mk. iv. 3 (from L. viii. 5): see Appendix.

Mk. iv. 24 ακουουσιν *galaubjandam*: see p. 136.

Mk. v. 14 εις την πολιν και εις τους αγρους *in baurg jah in haimom* vg. f latt. *in civitatem et in agros*. *Haims* regularly = κωμη, representing αγρος only here (1/17). The correct reading would be *in baurg jah in weihsa*, as in the parallel L. viii. 34. The present *baurg jah haimom* is reminiscent of similar collocations, as M. ix. 35 τας πολεις πασας και τας κωμας *baurgs allos jah haimos*; L. viii. 1 κατα πολιν και κωμην *and baurgs jah haimos*. Cf. p. 113 (L. xv. 25).

Mk. v. 22 πιπτει προς τους ποδας αυτου *du fotum Iesuis* 'nach L. viii. 41' (Streitberg). Note that *Iesuis* is not likely to be an expansion of *is* (cf. p. 213, note 2), since the contraction for *Iesuis* is *IUIS* (L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, 273).

Mk. vi. 1 εξηλθεν εκειθεν και ηλθεν εις την πατριδα *usstoþ jainþro jah qam* is probably reminiscent of collocations like αναστας . . . ηλθεν κτλ. *usstandans . . . iddja*, &c., e.g. M. ix. 9; J. xi. 31; L. i. 39, &c. See p. 117.

Mk. ix. 15 προστρεχοντες ησπαζοντο αυτον *þarinnandans inwitun ina*, vg. latt.

[1] It is doubtful whether *usqistjan* can properly represent αποκτειναι; in the instances referred to, viz. L. vi. 9; Mk. iii. 4; ix. 31, the first two are under the influence of Old Lat. *perdere*.

salutabant; *adoraverunt* f, after the Gothic. Elsewhere ωπαζεσθαι = *goljan* 4/5, as in Mk. xv. 18 *dugunnun goljan ina, hails þiudan Iudaie.* Here *inwitun* is after M. viii. 2 *duringnands inwait ina,* where the Greek has προσεκυνει. The passage from Matthew has, in turn, been affected by the present one: see p. 229.

Mk. ix. 37: see above, p. 229, under M. x. 40.

Mk. xv. 21 αγγαρευουσιν παραγοντα τινα Σιμωνα Κυρηναιον *undgripun sumana manne, Seimona Kwreinaiu.* The rendering of the Greek verb seems hardly good: in the only other instance (M. v. 41) we have *ananauþjaí.* With the present passage cf. L. xxiii. 26 επιλαβομενοι Σ. τινα Κ., which will account for the rendering *undgripun* and the omission of παραγοντα in the present passage, where vg. latt. have *praetereuntem quempiam*; *transeuntem quendam* k; f deficit.

Mk. xv. 37 *aftra letands,* app. resulting from a conflation of an original *afletands* + *aftra* from M. xxvii. 50: see p. 118.

Mk. xvi. 1 διαγενομενου του σαββατου *inwisandins sabbate dagis,* vg. *cum transisset*; *exacto* k; f def. *Inwisan* means, app., 'to be at hand', like *instandan* 'der tag bevorsteht' in 2 Thess. ii. 2 (*W. B.*), in which case it derives from the parallel text of L. xxiii. 54 και σαββατον επεφωσκεν *et sabbatum inlucescebat,* as Gabelentz-Loebe had suggested.

§ 2. *Contextual Contacts: Gothic Parallels from Proximate Contexts.*

M. v. 39, 41 οστις *jabai has.* Verse 41 is after v. 39, and this, in turn, from vg. latt. *si quis,* although v. 41 reads, correctly, *quicunque.* Note *qui ... qui* k. According to von Soden, however, Iren. and Chrys. both have εαν τις in v. 41.

M. vi. 24 ανθεξεται *ainamma ufhausiþ,* vg. k *sustinebit*; *patietur* a b c g h q; *obediet* f. The correct rendering is found in the parallel L. xvi. 13 *andtiloþ,* vg. *adhaerebit.* In this passage *ufhausiþ* is suggested by *skalkinon.* For other passages where a Gothic rendering has been affected, not by the actual letter of the context, but by the idea suggested by it, see M. xxvii. 66; Mk. x. 17.

M. ix. 12 ου χρειαν εχουσιν οι ισχυοντες ιατρου αλλ' οι κακως εχοντες *ni þaurbun hailai lekeis ak þai unhaili habandans.* Here *unhaili habandans,* for the more usual *ubil habandans,* appears to be in contrast to the preceding *hailai,* which, in turn, is from L. v. 31 (p. 229); in the latter passage *ni þaurbun hailai lekeis, ak þai unhailans,* the last word seems also to stand in contrast to the preceding *hailai.*

M. xi. 23 *αι δυναμεις αι γενομεναι εν σοι in izwis*, vg. latt. *in te*. *Izwis* is influenced by v. 21 *εν υμιν*, and the context.

M. xxvii. 46 *ανεβοησεν ufhropida*, vg. latt. *clamavit Iesus voce magna*. Here *ufhropida*, for *ufwopida*, is after v. 50 *κραξας hropjands*, reinforced by the contextual *stibnai mikilai*. Elsewhere *ανα)βοαν = uf)wopjan* 5/6, agreeing with *φωνειν = wopjan* 17/26 (*haitan* 3, *hrukjan* 5, *ufhropjan* only once, L. xvi. 24, p. 114). *Hropjan* connotes the harsher sound, translating *κραζειν* 23/24, *κραυγαζειν* 3/3; so *ανακραζειν = ufhropjan* 3/3.

M. xxvii. (64–)66 *ησφαλισαντο τον ταφον σφραγισαντες τον . . . galukun þata hlaiw, faursigljandans þana . . .* vg. f latt. *munierunt*. In verses 64, 65 we have *ασφαλισθηναι, -ασθε = witan, witaiduh*, correctly. *Galukun* is a semantic assimilation to *faursigljandans*; cf. M. vi. 24.

J. vi. 37 *παν ο διδωσιν μοι ο πατηρ all þatei gaf mis atta*, vg. latt. *dat*; *dedit* f. The tense is influenced by that of the surrounding verbs, e. g. in vv. 36, 38. (So *δεδωκε*, 1094 von Soden.)

J. vi. 46 *παρα του θεου fram attin*, vg. f latt. *a deo*. Cf. the preceding and following *atta, attin, attan, = πατηρ, πατρος, πατερα* (vv. 44, 45, 46). [Note, however, *πατρος ϯ θεου* Sin U.]

J. vii. 15 *εθαυμαζον οι Ιουδαιοι sildaleikidedun manageins*, vg. latt. *Iudaei*; *turbae* f. Cf. verse 12. [Soden cites one ninth-century MS. as exhibiting the same intrusion.]

J. viii. 45 *λεγω rodida*; cf. *rodeiþ* in v. 44, and see pp. 125 f. Note, however, *λαλω* D, *loquor* d e, *locutus sum* f.

J. x. 21 *δαιμονιζομενου unhulþon habandins*, perhaps after v. 20 *unhulþon habaiþ*; cf. p. 116 (Mk. v. 15). So also Mk. i. 32.

J. xi. 34 *ερχου hiri*. Cf. v. 43 *δευρο hiri*: see p. 100.

J. xv. 6 *εβληθη εξω . . . εξηρανθη . . . συναγουσιν . . . βαλλουσιν . . . καιεται uswairpada ut . . . gaþaursniþ . . . galisada . . . galagjand . . . inbrannjada*. *Galisada* conforms to the other passives. Vg. latt. *colligent*.

J. xvi. 18 *ουκ οιδαμεν τι λαλει ḥa qiþiþ*, vg. latt. f *loquitur*. Apparently from the previous context. Note, however, *dicit* d, *-cat* r, *-xit* a; *λεγει ϯ λαλει* D*. See p. 125.

J. xvi. 21 *γεννηση gabauran ist*, vg. latt. *pepererit*; *natus fuerit* (*est* e) e f, from the following *gabaurans warþ*, &c. See p. 174.

J. xvii. 19: see p. 128.

L. i. 10 *προσευχομενον was manageins beidandans uta*, vg. latt. *orans*: cf. v. 21 (*was managei*)*beidandans* (*προσδοκων*), the intrusion of which would be the more easily effected by reason of its resemblance to the correct rendering *bidjandans*. Bernhardt says: 'Offenbar las Vulfila *προσδεχομενον* in seiner vorlage.' The Palatinus reads *adorans*.

L. i. 18 *κατα τι γνωσομαι τουτο bihe kunnum þata*, vg. latt. *sciam*; *cognoscam*

e f. 'Plural wegen des flg. *ik jah gens meina*' (Streitberg). The sense here requires *ufkunnum* (*ufkann*); see pp. 58 ff.

L. i. 22 διεμενεν κωφος *was bandwjands im jah was dumbs*: the second *was* seems to be due to the preceding. See J. viii. 31, pp. 97 f.

L. i. 28 *anstai audahafta*: cf. vv. 45, 48 *audaga*, *audagjand*, and see p. 130.

L. ii. 38 τοις προσδεχομενοις λυτρωσιν Ιερ. *þaim usbeidandam laþon Iair*. Cf. ii. 25 *beidands laþonais Israelis*, where *laþonais* is a blundering translation of παρακλησιν, whence it has invaded v. 38: see pp. 131, 225.

L. ii. 48 τεκνον *magau, ƕa gatawides uns swa?* τεκνον occurs in the C. A. as *barn* 14/14 times and, in address, as *barnilo* 4/5 times. *Magus*, which elsewhere translates παις, is from v. 43 *gastoþ Iesus sa magus* (ο παις). Cf. L. xv. 31 *barnilo* (τεκνον) *þu sinteino miþ mis* [*wast jah*] *is*.

L. iii. 14: see Appendix.

L. v. 31: see M. ix. 12 above.

L. v. 18 εζητουν αυτον εισενεγκειν *sokidedun ƕaiwa ina innatbereina*, where the intrusive *ƕaiwa* is after v. 19 ποιας (εισενεγκωσιν αυτον) *ƕaiwa*. The reading of f is interesting. In v. 18, *quomodo eum inferre*, f preserves the gothicizing reading of the Brixian bilingual, whereas v. 19 reads *qua parte* with vg. latt. It would be strange if the Brixian Latin did not here also read *quomodo* with the Gothic. (Cf. p. 216, note 2.) *Hwaiwa* has the general sense of πως, but is a fair rendering of ποιας, which occurs only here. Πως for ποιας occurs in many Greek MSS. from the eleventh century onwards, but may be ignored.

L. vi. 8 εγειρε και στηθι . . . ο δε αναστας εστη *urreis jah stand . . . þaruh is urreisands gastoþ*. Vg. latt. *surge et sta . . . et surgens stetit*. Here *urreisands* is after the preceding *urreis* and, incidentally, avoids the somewhat harsh *usstandands gastoþ*. So also Mk. v. 42 εγειρε, και ευθεως ανεστη *urreis, jah suns urrais*. [Von Soden 050 ηγερθη ϗ ανεστη.] Elsewhere αναστηναι = *usstandan* 35/38, whereas *urreisan* only here translates αναστηναι, elsewhere always εγειρεσθαι, which is represented by *urreisan* 39/40 times.

L. vi. 38 δωσουσιν εις τον κολπον *gibada in barm*, after the preceding *gibada izwis*; so *dabitur in sinos* e: see p. 177.

L. vi. 41–2 βλεπεις . . . κατανοεις . . . βλεπων . . . διαβλεψεις (similarly vg. f latt.) *gaumeis . . . gaumeis . . . gaumjands . . . gaumjais*. The strictly correct rendering would have been *saihvis . . . gaumeis . . . saihvands . . . gaumjais*, but evidently *gaumjan* has been levelled out. Βλεπειν = *ga)saihvan* 29/30, only here *gaumjan*, which otherwise represents θεωρειν, θεασασθαι, ιδειν, προσεχειν τινι, διαβλεπειν.

L. vi. 44 for the passives *lisanda . . . trudanda* see p. 177.

L. vii. 22 *naweis urreisand* (? from vv. 12–15) : see p. 108 (L. ix. 60).

L. vii. 24 ηρξατο λεγειν *dugann rodjan*; cf. v. 15 *dugann rodjan* where, however, the Greek reads λαλειν : see p. 125 f. (J. viii. 45).

L. vii. 45 φιλημα μοι ουκ εδωκας *ni kukides mis* : cf. the following *bikukjan* and v. 38 κατεφιλει *kukida* : see p. 150. The 'holy kiss' in the Epistles is appropriately translated by *frijons* : 1 Cor. xvi. 20 εν φιληματι αγιῳ in *frijonai weihai*.

L. viii. 14 ουτοι εισιν οι ακουσαντες *þai sind þaiei gahausjandans* where *þaiei* is interpolated from v. 12. See p. 143.

L. viii. 25 ανεμοις επιτασσει και τῳ υδατι *windam faurbiudiþ jah watnam*, vg. f latt *mari* ; *aquae* a d e. *Watnam* is after *windam*, whilst *faurbiudiþ* is under the influence of the preceding *gasok* ; see p. 133.

L. viii. 27 εμενεν *gawas* : see p. 99.

L. ix. 26 ος γαρ αν επαισχυνθῃ με και τους εμους λογους *skamaiþ sik meina aiþþau meinaize waurde*, vg. latt. *et* ; *aut* f. Apparently from v. 25 *iþ sis silbin fraqistjands aiþþau gasleiþjands*, where the Greek has η.

L. xiv. 12 μη φωνει *ni haitais* : see p. 110.

L. xvi. 10 πιστος . . . πιστος . . . αδικος . . . αδικος *triggws . . . triggws . . . untriggwa . . . untriggws*, vg. latt. *fidelis* (bis) . . . *iniquus* (bis ; *iniustus* e) ; *fidelis . . . infidelis* f, after the Gothic, where the renderings are levelled out.

L. xvii. 15 ιαθη *hrains warþ* : cf. v. 14 *gahrainidai waurþun*. See p. 127.

L. xx. 6 : see p. 231.

Mk. i. 32 : see J. x. 21 above, and p. 116 (Mk. v. 15).

Mk. ii. 21 επιβλημα ρακους αγναφου *þlat fanins niujis*, vg. e f *rudis* ; *novi* b. Here *niujis* does not properly render αγναφου—which means 'uncarded', i.e., unfinished, rough—but is either from the contextual καινον κτλ. or from the text of L. v. 36 (επιβλημα ιματιου καινου). The correct and original rendering is perhaps preserved in M. ix. 16 (*du þlata fanan*) *þarihis*,[1] which, judging by the text of L. and Mk. *þlat snagins* (*fanins*) *niujis*, might be emended to *lagjiþ þlat fanins þarihis*. The intrusive *du* may have something to do with the prefixes in the words επιβαλλει, επιβλημα.[1] On the other hand, if we treat the Gothic as a correct but free rendering of the Greek text, the passage may be interpreted thus : 'No one lays a piece (*fanan*) of rough [*scil.* cloth] (*þarihis*) by way of a patch (*du þlata*) on an old garment.'

Mk. v. 4 δαμασαι *manna ni mahta ina gatamjan*. Marg. gloss. *gabindan*, from the previous verse (p. 219). This is an illustration of the half-way stage in contextual corruption.

[1] 'Unerklärte textverderbnis' Streitberg. Cf. Kauffmann, *ZfdPh.* xxx. 167 'Hat der übersetzer fälschlich επι- als präposition gefasst?'

Mk. v. 42: see L. vi. 8 above.

Mk. vii. 13 *τῃ παραδοσει υμων þizai anabusnai izwarai. Anabusns* properly means *ενταλμα, εντολη* κτλ., and is here intrusive from v. 9 *την εντολην του θεου anabusn gudis* (thus sin. syr. *τῃ εντολῃ*); cf. *παραδοσις anafilh* Mk. vii. 3 (*þatei*) *anafulhun* Mk. vii. 5, 8; *þata anafulhano* Mk. vii. 9.

Mk. viii. 17 *ουπω νοειτε ουδε συνιετε, οτι πεπωρωμενην εχετε την καρδιαν υμων ni nauh fraþjiþ nih wituþ, unte daubata habaiþ hairto izwar.* The Κοινη reads *ετι* AΧΓΠ unc. 9 al. pler; thus *adhuc* vg. f g l q, whereas the Old Lat. b c d ff² i read *sic*. The oldest Greek MSS., SinBCDLN &c., omit the word, as also the Old Lat. a. For the reading *οτι*, evidently from the preceding context, von Soden cites eight minuscules of the 11th–15th century and three 9th century uncials, including A. The reading *οτι* may have stood in the Vorlage,[1] but I think it very unlikely. The Greek text of Streitberg ought here to read *ετι*, the Gothic *unte* being most probably a contextual accommodation independent of external influence; *unte daubata habaiþ* is after *unte hlaibans ni habam, unte hlaibans ni habaiþ* of vv. 16–17.

Mk. viii. 20 *ποσων σπυριδων πληρωματα κλασματων*: *ƕan managans spyreidans fullans gabruko*, vg. a ff² *quot sportas fragmentorum* (om. k); *quot sportas plenas fragmentorum* f, after the Gothic. This is possibly a free, idiomatic translation (cf. p. 152, under Mk. iv. 28): but cf. the previous verse, *ƕan managos tainjons fullos gabruko*, to which the present passage conforms.

Mk. x. 17 *γονυπετησας αυτον επηρωτα αυτον knussjands baþ ina . . . 'ƕa taujau'* &c., vg. f *rogabat*. Here *baþ* appears instead of *frah* on account of the preceding *knussjands* (cf. M. vi. 24, xxvii. 66). Elsewhere *ερωταν* 'to ask a question' is always *fraihnan* 1.12.16.24 = 53/63; 'to ask a favour, to pray, beseech' = *bidjan* 0.6.7.1 = 14/15. (For L. v. 3 *haihait*, see pp. 61, 132.)

Mk. xii. 19 *εξαναστηση σπερμα ussatjai barna*, vg. latt. (f def.) *semen. Barna* is from the preceding context (so also *ε* 93 *τεκνα* [Soden]), and *ussatjai* clearly points to the earlier, and correct, reading *ussatjai fraiw*, the verb signifying 'to plant', as when it translates *εφυτευσεν, φυτευθητι* (L. xx. 9; Mk. xii. 1; L. xvii. 6). For L. x. 2 *ei ussatjai waurstwjans*, see p. 109. Had *barna* been original, another word would seem indicated (? *urraisjan*). Cf. L. xx. 28 *urraisjai fraiw* (*σπερμα*).

Mk. xiv. 41 *παραδιδοται galewjada sunus mans*; apparently the choice of *galewjan* is due to its correct use in v. 42 *sa lewjands mik atnehida.*

[1] Bernhardt's comment is: 'Nur eine jüngere hs. hat *οτι*; wahrscheinlich las Vulfila *οτι* in seiner vorlage.' Thus also Streitberg ad loc.: 'Die vorlage scheint *ϵτι* statt *ετι* gelesen zu haben.'

The question is discussed on pp. 74–5, in which connexion note—among others—M. xxvi. 2 *sunus mans atgibada du ushramjan*; we should have expected *atgibada* in the present instance.

Mk. xiv. 71 ηρξατο αναθεματιζειν και ομνυναι *afaikan jah swaran*, vg. *anathematizare et iurare; devotare se* a c k; *devotare* d ff² q. *Afaikan* is here a contextual intrusion from v. 68 and elsewhere represents αρνεισθαι (trans. and intr.) 'to deny' 2.2.1.1; also απαρνεισθαι 1.1.0.0. The rendering of the parallel M. xxvi. 74 καταθεματιζειν *afdomian* (C. A. and Ambros. C) is correct; cf. vg. f *detestari*.

§ 3. *The Levelling-out of Parallels.*

In the first paragraph of this chapter we discussed the intrusion of Gothic renderings proper to one Gospel or passage, as determined by the underlying Greek, into similar or parallel passages, where such readings did not represent the original Greek. It sometimes happens, however, that parallel passages of which the Greek text is identical, are represented in Gothic by exactly similar renderings which, by exhibiting the same stylistic artifice, rare word, or corruption or mistranslation, point to an even closer comparison and levelling-out of parallel passages. The following examples will serve as illustration.

(*a*) Agreement between Matthew–Luke–Mark.

M. v. 20 *ni þau qimiþ in þiudangardjai himine*—L. xviii. 17 *ni qimiþ in izai*—Mk. x. 15 *ni þauh qimiþ in izai*. It is only in these three passages that εισελθειν is represented by *qiman*, for the interpretation of which see pp. 92–3.

M. ix. 8–L. v. 26 (healing the paralytic) *jah mikilidedun guþ* Mk. ii. 12 *jah hauhidedun mikiljandans guþ*. The attempt at levelling the last passage has resulted in a conflation. See pp. 171, 222.

M. ix. 16–L. v. 36–Mk. ii. 21 *ana snagan fairnjana*. Elsewhere ιματιον = *wasti* 24/27. See p. 95.

M. ix. 13–Mk. ii. 17 *niþþan* (*ni* Mk.) *qam laþon uswaurhtans, ak frawaurhtans* = καλεσαι δικαιους, the parallel L. v. 32 reading *ni qam laþon garaihtans*. Καλειν, 'to invite (as to a feast)' occurs 11 times, viz. here and L. vii. 39; xiv. 10 (bis), 12, 13, 16, 17, 24 where the rendering is uniformly *haitan*. *Laþon* therefore is peculiar to this parallel and has been levelled out. Cf. p. 88, note 6. Δικαιος = *garaihts* 14/17, *uswaurhts* only in this parallel and in L. xiv. 14. Cf. p. 86, note 3.

(*b*) Agreements between Matthew and Luke.

M. vii. 16 συλλεγουσιν *lisanda*, vg. latt. *colligunt*; cf. the same reading in L. vi. 44, and see pp. 177–8.

M. viii. 19–L. ix. 57 οπου εαν απερχῃ *þishvaduh þadei gaggis*. Απερχεσθαι = *galeiþan* 49, *afleiþan* 2, *usleiþan* 1 = 52/56. *Gaggan* is a rare rendering found only here and in L. v. 14; ix. 60. Cf. next.

M. viii. 20–L. ix. 58 *fauhons grobos aigun* (εχουσι). *jah fuglos himinis sitlans, iþ sunus mans ni habaiþ* (εχει) *hvar haubiþ sein anahaiwjai* (*galagjai* Luke). Note the fine distinction between *aigun* . . . *habaiþ* (p. 66) in both passages, although Luke has improved upon the original, if cruder, *anahnaiwjai*.

(*c*) Agreements between Matthew and Mark.

M. viii. 2–Mk. i. 40 λεπρος *manna* (om. Mk.) *þrutsfill habands*. Elsewhere *þrutsfills* (adj.). See pp. 87, 148.

M. ix. 13–Mk. ii. 17 δικαιους *uswaurhtans*: see above (*a*).

M. ix. 16–Mk. ii. 21 αιρει γαρ (om. Mk.) το πληρωμα *afnimiþ fullon*. The same misconstruction is common to both passages. See p. 139, and note the rare *snagan* in the same parallel.

(*d*) Agreements between Luke and Mark.

L. v. 21–Mk. ii. 7 βλασφημιας *naiteinins*. This rendering occurs only here and Mk. iii. 28: elsewhere *wajamereins* 4/7 viz. M. xxvi. 65; J. x. 33; Mk. vii. 22; xiv. 64. The passage from Matthew is from the Cod. Ambros. C. Βλασφημειν = *wajamerjan* 5/5.

L. xix. 31–Mk. xi. 3 χρειαν εχει *frauja þis gaírneiþ*. This is a rendering of doubtful accuracy which has invaded both parallels. See pp. 138 (Mk. xi. 3), 180 (L. xix. 31).

The agreements, in §§ 1 and 2, of the reading of f and the C. A. are of peculiar interest as an indication of the number of readings in the Brixian that did not conform to the Greek text, and, consequently, of the extent to which the Bilingual fell short of the claim made for it in the Praefatio. See p. 209, and p. 217 note 4.

XVIII

THE CODEX ARGENTEUS. CONCLUSION.

Although the Codex Argenteus still awaits a detailed palaeographical description, some material information is to be found in the introduction to the edition of Gabelentz and Loebe.[1]

The University of Upsala has undertaken to produce a photographic facsimile of the entire MS., with an introduction by Professor Otto von Friesen; and although the enterprise has been held up by the economic difficulties arising from the war, there is every hope that within the next two years this important and difficult task will have been accomplished.

The difficulty has to be faced of photographing the blackened silver against the fuscous background of purple vellum. In places the silver and gold writing has worn off, or the medium used has destroyed the vellum, or the silver has turned into sulphide, whilst the writing, especially of the flesh side, tends to show through. The problem of devising a process that will give the best aggregate result under these varying conditions has been very successfully dealt with by Professor The Svedberg, assisted by Ivar Nordlund, whose best results were obtained by photographing the MS. by the aid of ultraviolet light,[2] which yields an excellent reproduction in black upon a white background.

The MS. seems to be palaeographically homogeneous,[3] if we may judge by the writing, which is extraordinarily regular, the individual characters giving the appearance of having been stencilled or printed.[4] An examination of the orthographic variants,[5] which are especially common in Luke, shows a remarkable disparity between the four Gospels in this respect. The figures are 4.12.86.23, showing Mark with twice as many

[1] See Gabel.-Loebe, *Prolegomena*, pp. xxx–xxxii.

[2] Cf. Svedberg och Nordlund, *Fotografisk undersökning av Codex Argenteus*, p. 2, in *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* (1918 i. 'Fluorescensfotografering, d.v.s. belysning av handskriften med ultraviolett ljus och fotografering av det därvid utsända synliga fluorescensljuset.'

[3] Prof. Otto von Friesen agrees.

[4] This theory, indeed, was seriously advanced by Ihre, and received support from Schinmeier and Adelung (cf. Gabel.-Loebe, ibid., p. xxxi, note 97). Comparison and measurement of the letters, however, provides a complete refutation of this *prima facie* impossible suggestion.

[5] Such as the interchange of *ei* and *e*, *ei* and *i*, *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, and *au*, *u* in the *u*-declension; the omission or addition of *h*, as in *liuteiþ*, *drauhsnos*, &c.

variants as John, instead of an approximately equal number, and Luke with an overwhelming excess in proportion to its bulk. We may argue, therefore, that the comparative freedom of spelling characterizing L. and Mk. goes back at least to the parent copy, or to some ancestor more remote.

The C. A. was copied from a complete codex of the four Gospels, and this was either the Brixian Bilingual itself, or a copy recently descended from it. Having regard to the post-Brixian revisions of which we have given some account in chap. xvi, the latter is the more probable alternative.[1] Odefey, on the contrary, says (p. 140) that 'Der Codex Argenteus, wie er uns vorliegt, aus verschiedenen, wahrscheinlich HSS.-bruchstücken zusammengestellt wurde'. There is, of course, nothing to prove that the C. A. is even descended from the Gothic half of the Brixian; it is also conceivable that, even if it is, the four Gospels of the Brixian were separated and, unlikely though that may seem, went their own ways, underwent various and different changes, to be finally reunited, through their descendants, in the C. A.

Apart from the intrinsic improbability of this imagined chain of circumstances, we cannot overlook the fact that the two MSS., C. A., and f, are contemporaries, written in the same region, and the product of the same palaeographic school. This lends a very strong probability to the close historical connexion admitted to exist between these two documents, in which case we are probably right in assuming that the C. A. was copied from the Brixian, or from a near descendant of that bilingual, and that this was a complete codex containing at least the four Gospels. A scribe, moreover, entrusted with the production of a magnificent luxury-edition of the Gospels, would be more likely to work from one codex than to seek to patch up his text from any stray fragments that came to hand.

The Brixian Bilingual was compiled at a time very little remote from the execution of the Argentean codex, perhaps not much earlier than the beginning of the sixth century (see chap. xv). Whether the Gothic portion of the Brixian Bilingual was copied from one, or from more than one, complete codex, or from separate copies of individual Gospels, we have no means of judging; but the evidence of the Argentean renderings shows that the Brixian Gospels ultimately derive from at least two quite different types of text; on the one hand, the ancestor of M. and J.; on the other, the parent or parents of the Argentean L. and Mk.

Matthew and John exhibit an older, more primitive, less developed text, and a more ingenuous workmanship; Luke and Mark have had a

[1] Cf. p. 217, note 4.

more adventurous career; they suggest an atmosphere of theological refinement and text-critical activity which is wanting at least in Matthew. There is the general simplicity of technique exhibited in the first Gospel, and the striking difference of vocabulary between M.-J. and L.-Mk. The less ingenuous technique of L.-Mk. may naturally go back to Wulfilian time, and be explained as evidencing the more practised work of the translator whose prentice hand we see in the first Gospel. (Cf. p. 160.) The difference in vocabulary may also in part go back to the fourth century, but we are inclined to think that, for the most part, these variant renderings in L. and Mk. were grafted onto the Wulfilian text during the course of an adventurous century.

Most striking is the greater amount of total variation that distinguishes L. and Mk. from the other half of the Codex, especially the very excessive preponderance in Luke (p. 119), which Gospel is further distinguished by its close connexion with the Codex Palatinus. In this respect it detaches itself from Mark, for the evidence of connexion with the Palatinus, copious as it is in the case of Luke, is almost entirely wanting in the case of the other Gospels (pp. 183 ff.). Mark, in particular, is represented in e from chapter i. 21 to iv. 8, 11, 19 and thence to vi. 9, and had this Gospel shared the history of Luke in the Palatinian and downwards, one would expect to find some trace of the partnership in the course of the first five and a half chapters. John, with the exception of twelve verses, is complete in e, but none of the fragments of the Argentean Matthew coincide with the extant portions of e. (Cf. p. 105.)

Apart from the special connexion, in Luke, with the Codex Palatinus, L. and Mk. share the diversity of vocabulary discussed in chapters vi and vii. It is as though these two Argentean Gospel-texts had seen much more of the world, and had shouldered their way through the busy press of life, whilst their fellows had led a comparatively secluded and obscure existence. The former were forced into contact with representatives of the Latin Version in different regions, not without being themselves modified and adapted in the process; the latter preserved much more of their early if somewhat rustic simplicity and purity. Already Gabelentz and Loebe had expressed the opinion that Luke belonged to a younger recension. 'Cognovisse nobis videmur, alia ad recentiorem, alia ad veteriorem recensionem pertinere; et ad illud quidem genus maxime insignem evangelii Lucae a reliquorum evangeliorum ratione diversitatem referimus, &c.'[1]

How is this difference to be accounted for? The latest-comers to

[1] *Prolog.* xix. Cf. also Bernhardt, *Vulfila*, p. xxiv; Massmann, *Ulfilas*, p. lvii; Marold, *Germania*, xxviii. 58; all quoted by Odefey, pp. 21–3.

settle down to the *civilitas* of the Roman Empire in Europe were the Ostrogoths under Theodoric; when he rode into Ravenna the Wisigoths had long, and in comparative peace, been established in Toulouse. Is it possible that, in the M.-J. of the C. A., we possess the old Wulfilian text, preserved among the Ostrogothic nation from the corruption of a long sojourn in the West, comparatively untouched, through the stress of circumstance, by the tamperings occasioned by a leisured peace? May we see, in the L.-Mk. of the Argenteus, a text which shared the fortunes of the Wisigoths, that was read to the troops of Alaric by the Tiber, that developed after the manner of its kind during the hundred years of ever closer contact with romanizing influences? There is no reason why a MS. whose ancestors were propagated by Wisigothic scribes should not have found its way into an Ostrogothic camp, or conversely; and what is more likely than that, among the gifts which passed between Theodoric and his Teuton kinsmen,[1] there should have figured luxury editions of the Holy Word?

Procopius[2] tells us that the language of the various branches of the Gothic nation was one, that Goth, Vandal, West Goth, and Gepid spoke alike, nor is there any reason to doubt his statement. We are willing to believe that, apart from the inevitable minor differences in pronunciation and, to some extent, of vocabulary, the subjects of Athaulf, Gaiseric, Odoacer, and Theodoric spoke a language essentially the same, and that their Bible-texts were practically interchangeable. Our suggestion is consistent with the fact that the earlier Palatinian Bilingual is more likely to have been the work of the Wisigothic Church; also the orthographic peculiarities of Luke point to a younger stage of development, where the traditional rules of spelling are beginning to relax, and such a condition is to be sought for rather in the kingdom of the second Alaric with whom fell the hundred years' greatness of Toulouse, than among the rugged Ostrogoths who were nearer, by a century, to the day of Wulfila.[3]

As we have seen (p. 218), among the 15 marginal glosses of the C. A., all but one belong to Luke (10) and Mk. (4), and 4 of the Lucan glosses are direct references to the reading of Matthew as we have it in the Argenteus. The solitary gloss in Matthew is a cross-reference to the *faihuþraihna* of L. xvi. 9, 11, 13. These notes are very possibly those

[1] Cf. Theodoric's gift, to the Burgundian Gundobad, of a water-clock and sun-dial, made by Boethius: see Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, i. 45 and 46.

[2] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, i. 2; see also *E.B.* § 5.

[3] Alternatively, one might assume a similar younger recension to have been evolved within the Ostrogothic Church between 500 and the date of the C.A., but the other theory has the advantage of being better supported by conditions of circumstance and time.

of an Ostrogothic reader to whom the text of the Wulfilian M.-J. was more familiar than the Wisigothic text of L.-Mk.

Chronology.

The dating of the C. A., and of the different stages of the development of the Gothic text, must necessarily be a matter of approximate guessing.

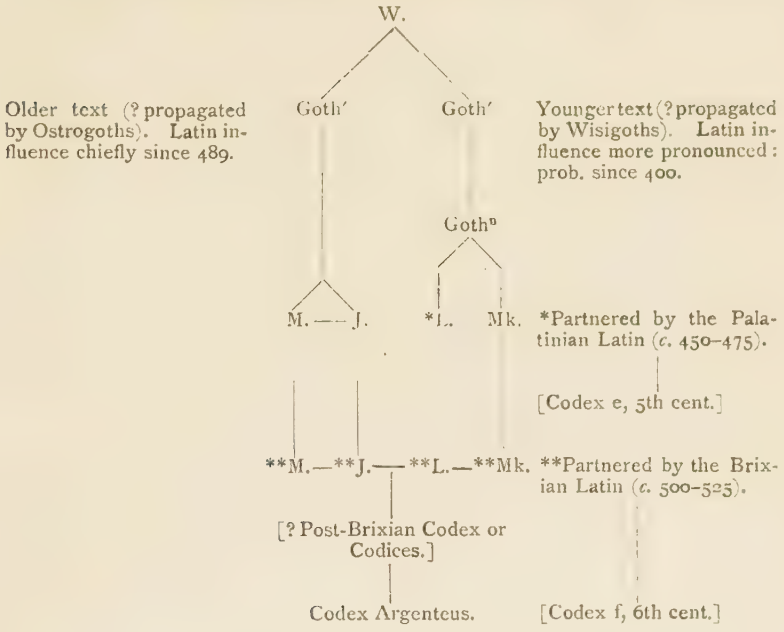
The C. A. belongs, palaeographically, to the sixth century, and there is no reason for preferring a date before 526 to one falling after the death of the great Theodoric: yet the comparatively short interval which, we believe, is to be assumed between the Brixian and the C. A.,[1] and the fact that the former gives the impression of being a characteristic product of Theodoric's activity, inclines us to date the Argenteus within the reign of the great Amal, or not very long after: say, *c.* 525.

The Brixian may have been compiled not more than a generation previous (chap. xv), and may be dated *c.* 500, or, better, 500–525. The Giessen fragment has also been dated in the sixth century (*E. B.* § 11). What lies between the Brixian and the Palatinian period we do not know, but it is certain that the two halves of the Argentean-Brixian text, M.-J., and L.-Mk., ultimately go back to two different types of text, and that the latest point at which we must divide the common line of ascent is on reaching the period of the Palatinian Bilingual, say, 450–475.

From this point the more primitive (? Ostrogothic) text represented by the Argentean M.-J. goes back, with little incident, though not without being affected by the Old Latin, to the original text of Wulfila, whilst the ultra-palatinian L. and Mk. represent the later (? Wisigothic) text, through a period during which, from the beginning of the fifth century, the text of the Wisigoths was more exposed to change than that of their still nomad kinsmen, who did not, as a nation, set foot upon their promised land until 489.

[1] See pp. 196-9, 211.

The following diagram may illustrate the descent of the Codex Argenteus.



CONCLUSION

This concludes our attempt to trace the development of the Gothic Gospels, by the light of the internal evidence furnished by the renderings of the C. A., from their first simple and ingenuous form down to the only tangible record of their text in the sixth century.

The results of our inquiry point to an original or Wulfilian translation which, if naïvely unconscious, or reckless, of the claims of the Gothic language, barbarous though it shows itself in enslaving native idiom, syntax, and word-order, yet exhibits a very great skill in interpreting the force of individual words and transcending in many instances the best efforts of the later versions down to our day.

In contrast to the syntactical timidity of the original translator, which is especially noticeable in the first Gospel, there is seen, occasionally, the brilliant originality of his renderings, and the boldness of interpretation that lights up the pages of his book with the vividness of the Gothic imagination, and affords us a glimpse of the translator's personality.

Yet his work is not always brilliant, nor even good; for at least a portion of the renderings criticized in chap. viii and elsewhere, must be debited to the original translator or translators, although it is easy to see how many, perhaps most, may have arisen later.

The methods of Wulfila and his school were simple and safe. The unit of translation was the word, and what subjectivity of treatment the Goth allowed himself was thus confined, in the main, to individual renderings.

We continue to protest against the methods of a school of criticism that would show us in Wulfila a poet and rhetorician; that would represent him as striving after rimes and antitheses—that were imposed upon him by the Greek text; and as avoiding them—when the simple methods of his technique left him no choice; that would make him responsible for alliterations and for phrases simulating the sonorous alliterative verse of his ancestral hero-songs—which are purely fortuitous, which a modern scholar would, of necessity, produce were he to translate, according to the mechanical method of Wulfila, any page of the Greek Gospels into the language of the Goths.

The Goths seem to have been indifferent textual critics. Their revisional additions, subtractions, and alterations degenerate into mere

textual tinkering; their latinizings are uncritical, haphazard, and unpatriotic.

The Western readings in the C. A., about which more remains to be said, seem, in the main, to derive from the Old Lat.; more than this it is at present not safe to assume. I have collected a number of readings, including over fifty that originate in confusion with parallel passages, that, at first sight, may derive either from the Old Lat., or from some Western Greek text from which the Gothic was corrected, or from the original Vorlage.

These passages are thus distributed:

A.	Gothic supported	by Gk. (H–I) and Lat.	1.1. 7. 9.
		by Cod. D and Lat.	3.2. 6. 4.
		by Latin texts only	2.7.15. 5.
B.	Parallels „	by Gk. and Lat.	2.3.17.22.
		by Latin texts alone	2.4. 2. 4.
		by Greek texts alone	1.0. 0. 2.

These figures justify our caution in admitting Western readings into the text underlying the Gothic Version. The agreements between the C. A. and latt. alone are numerous; those between the C. A. and the Greek are confined to a doubtful three.

When we describe the Gothic latinizings as unpatriotic, we mean this with reference to the Wulfilian text and its origins. The readiness with which the Goth seems to have latinized his Bible is a reflection of the thoroughness with which the Wisigoths of Athaulf and, subsequently, the followers of Odoacer and the subjects of Theodoric became romanized. By the end of the fifth century, perhaps, the connexion between the *Graeca Veritas* and the Gothic text had lost its historical significance and, probably, a great deal of its text-critical value.

It has already been suggested (p. 167) that the latinizing of the Gothic text in Italy, and the harmonizing of the bilinguals may have been part of Theodoric's unifying policy; howbeit the assimilative power of Rome, a power wielded over victor and vanquished alike, would tend towards the same end.

The Gothic text is, therefore, of little value to the N. T. critic so long as we can assume, for the text underlying it, nothing more than a somewhat indefinite Chrysostomian Byzantine Κοινη-text. What the N. T. critic would know is: To what extent are the Western readings in the C. A. ascribable to the Greek text of Wulfila? The critic must remain content, for the nonce, with v. Soden's words quoted above (p. 223). Until further discoveries come to light, necessarily of a type of text earlier by a century than that of the C. A., we must remain uncertain.

not only of the detailed readings of the Wulfilian Greek, but also of the history of the Gothic Gospel-text that we have attempted, by the only means at our disposal, to outline.

The discovery of the Giessen fragment has raised the hope that yet other, haply more substantial portions of the Gothic Gospels may one day be restored to us. Walafrid Strabo, writing in the ninth century, tells us that the Gothic Bible was still to be seen: 'Postmodum studiosi illius gentis divinos libros in suae locutionis proprietatem transtulerint, quorum adhuc monimenta apud nonnullos habentur; et fidelium fratrum relatione didicimus apud quasdam Scytharum gentes, maxime Thomitanos, eadem locutione divina hactenus celebrari officia.'[1]

Unfortunately, the Gothic Bible was exposed to unusual dangers of destruction. The Moorish invasion of Spain would not conduce to the preservation, in the conquered territory, of the infidel writings of unbelievers; whilst in Italy, the vandalism of the priesthood seems to have successfully destroyed every vestige of the Arian Scriptures. All our MSS. are palimpsests, except alone the glorious Argenteus, which escaped that ignominy—who knows?—by finding an early home in Germany.[2]

The Gothic nations, once so puissant, promising so fair for the future of Europe, vanished, no man knows whither. As nations, they were dissipated, and their names cut off from posterity; even the record of their deeds shows forth but faintly, as through the impious writing of a palimpsest. It is strange to think that the greatest enduring monument of this nation, so mighty in war, should be the Codex Argenteus. Stranger still, and ironical withal, if the chief witnesses of the Old Latin Version owed their preservation to the theological and text-critical activities of the Goths.

[1] *M. G. H., Capitul. Reg. Franc.* ii. 481.
[2] Cf. Krafft, *Anfänge*, p. 253.

APPENDIX

STREITBERG'S VORLAGE. SUGGESTED EMENDATIONS

The more one studies Streitberg's selection of readings, the more evident becomes the painstaking care with which he has gone to work to produce the nearest approach possible to the type of text which in his opinion lay before the translator of the Gothic Gospels.

I have made no attempt at anything like a systematic revision of Streitberg's text, not only because the basis of the present study would prove to be inadequate, but also because the undertaking will hardly be worth the labour until we discover another extensive portion of the Gothic Bible with which to compare the C. A. There are, nevertheless, a number of Argentean readings which Streitberg supports by resorting to the reading of a solitary uncial, backed up, occasionally, by a few late minuscules, when the Gothic reading could much more convincingly be explained as a corruption due to the irreption of some parallel or reminiscent passage within the Gothic text, or as due to the influence of the context or of the Old Latin.

I have collected instances such as these, and some others where I venture to disagree with Streitberg's choice, in the following list, briefly indicating the reason for my objection. And, as will be seen, this has often meant a return to the reading of Bernhardt. The need for conservative caution was everywhere evident, and I hope that in the following suggestions I may successfully have subordinated enthusiasm to circumspection.

Although Streitberg's apparatus will enable the critic everywhere to weigh his Western readings against the claims of the Κοινη, the reason for his choice is not always clear. For instance, in Mk. x. 14 he takes the *K-reading *μη* (*jah ni*), in spite of the weighty attestation of *και μη* by Sin A C D L M² it. vg. (cf. M. xix. 14; L. xviii. 16)—a choice with which, in principle, I agree. Thus also in Mk. x. 40 he reads *και εξ* with *K k, although the C. A. *aiþþau af* is supported by *η εξ* Sin B D L Δ it. vg., and in Mk. x. 50 *αναστας* *K, where the C. A. *ushlaupands* is paralleled by *αναπεδησας* of Sin B D L M(mg) Δ it. vg.

Elsewhere, however, he frequently forsakes the Κοινη for the authority of Sin B D (L) alone, as in L. xvi. 4; Mk. i. 10 (see below). The same

deference to non-Κοινη readings is shown in J. xiv. 16; xv. 11, where, although Streitberg adopts the *K-reading μενειν, he cites authority for ειναι, because the Gothic reads *wisan*. This is, however, the correct rendering, since μενειν, 'to abide', is so translated 17/25 times, hence the references to the ειναι-readings are unnecessary.

I had hoped that many of the claims between the Antiochian and the Western readings might be settled by reference to the Gothic renderings. This has, however, rarely been possible.

M. vii. 24, 26 μου τους λογους (cf. L. vi. 47): v. 24 B* (min) a g k m; v. 26 f k. Greek support is too slender to exclude the influence of parallels or of Old Latin. Read μου τους λογους τουτους with *K rell. This ought to give us *þo waurda meina*; C. A. omits *þo*.

M. viii. 9 εγω ανθρωπος ειμι υπο εξουσιαν εχων υπ' εμαυτου στρατιωτας 'Von. Chr. erwähnte lesart, υπ' εμαυτον *K' Streitberg. See Tischendorf, ad loc. The common reading is ειμι υπο εξουσιαν, εχων υπ' εμαυτον στρατιωτας, for which Soden quotes εχων υπο την εμαυτου εξουσιαν στρατιωτας as occurring in 'Τα Ιρ Ir f pa'. The Gothic *manna im habands uf waldufnja meinamma gadrauhtins* agrees neither with the common reading nor with the interpolated or conflate reading last quoted, but suggests a misunderstanding of the correct text, reading this as ανθρωπος ειμι, υπο εξουσιαν εχων υπ' εμαυτου (l εμαυτον) στρατιωτας. I propose to restore the εμαυτον of *K, and to attribute the mistranslation to a simple error. Bernhardt also reads εμαυτον. With C. A. cf. f *homo sum habens sub potestatem meam milites*.

M. x. 25 εκαλεσαν Chr. min. mu., επεκαλεσαν *K (Str.). I see no reason for not restoring the common επεκαλεσαν (thus Bernhardt), in spite of the Gothic *haihaitun*, for since επικαλειν here means 'to call or name', it is difficult to see what else the Goth could have written.

M. x. 28 εις γεενναν 'Chr. D it. pler. vg. (nach den parallelstellen)' (Str.). The *K text is εν γεεννη, which I prefer here, attributing the Gothic *in gaiainnan* to the influence of (D) it. vg.

M. xi. 23 καταβηση B D it. vg., also syr. Ir.; καταβιβασθηση *K and Soden. The C. A. *galeiþis* is like to be after Old Latin *descendes*: see p. 122 (M. v. 29–30). L. x. 15 reads καταβιβασθηση *gadrausjaza*.

M. xxvii. 54 θεου υιος εστιν ουτος C f g; *guds sunus ist sa*. A rare reading, with which cf. the isolated εστιν (Soden H 376, otherwise 579) for υιος θεου ην in Mk. xv. 39. The isolated reading of C does not justify the adoption of εστιν in the Vorlage, where I propose to read ην, the Gothic *ist* being more likely to be a recent alteration. With C. A. cf. *est* f, against *erat* vg. latt.

J. v. 47 πιστευσητε D G S Δ Chr. min.; πιστευσετε *K. The C. A. sub-

junctive *galaubjaiþ* needs no support from the Greek: see Bernhardt ad J. iii. 4, and cf. above, pp. 64 f., in the article on εἰναι. Bernhardt reads πιστευσετε.

J. vi. 1 και της Τιβεριαδος V (and two minuscules); om. και *K rell. The normal use of the ethnic name in Gothic for the place-name would here strongly conduce to the insertion of *jah* between the two. *þo Galeilaie Tibairiade* would look odd indeed. I should certainly not include και on the strength of V. Bernhardt omits the copula. With C. A. cf. f *galileae et tiberiadis*.

J. vii. 35 οτι ημεις ουκ ευρησωμεν αυτον 'H Λ' St. 'H M Γ Λ al mu -σωμεν' Tisch. (Soden silet). I prefer the *K reading -σομεν (with Bernhardt), since the dubitative form of question requires the subjunctive in Gothic, thus needing no support from Greek. Cf. J. v. 47 above.

J. x. 25 απεκριθη Sin* D. Better read απ. αυτοις with *K it. vg., retaining Streitberg's emendation *andhof* ⟨*im*⟩ which is incompatible with his adoption of Sin* D.

J. xi. 35 και εδακρυσεν Sin D it. vg.; εδακρυσεν *K, which I prefer here; the addition of *jah* may be referred to the Itala.

J. xii. 26 εκει ο διακονος Λ; εκει και ο διακονος *K rell. it. vg. The single testimony of Λ is not sufficient. I adopt the *K-reading (with Bernhardt), and read *þaruh* ⟨*jah*⟩ *sa andbahts meins*.

J. xii. 32 απο της γης D L Chr b c e f ff² g l vg.; εκ *K. Read εκ with Bernhardt. The Gothic *af airþa* seems the natural way of translating the Greek here, whichever reading we adopt: *us airþa* would seem strained. In any case the Latin *a terra* would readily account for the alteration, if any.

J. xii. 37 τοσαυτα G; τοσαυτα δε *K rell. omn. *Swa filu imma*, &c., C. A. The omission of the particle from C. A. is too trivial to justify the adoption of the isolated reading of G against all the rest. Read τοσαυτα̣ δε with Bernhardt.

J. xviii. 32 Κυριου Chr min (viz., 245, 435); Ιησου *K; θεου L Δ min. The C. A. (*waurd*) *fraujins* is probably reminiscent, and I prefer to read Ιησου.

J. xviii. 38 τι εστιν η αληθεια only V and 1; αληθεια rell. The Gothic *sa* as quasi-article, without the corresponding article in Greek, is very rare (*E.B.* § 281. 2). But to Streitberg's example, L. xx. 20, I feel inclined to add the present passage, and also L. iii. 14. See also Bernhardt, note ad loc. '*ista veritas*, mit. verächtlichem nebensinn, wie 1 Cor. x. 19'.

L. i. 14 σοι χαρα D (4 min.) Orig. pa. syr. e: χαρα σοι *K rell. The principal or sole support of D (gr.) e in Luke renders the reading

suspect of having been influenced, esp. in the Palatinian. I prefer the Κοινη reading.

L. i. 65 αυτον on the authority of D (+ one min., Soden); αυτους *K; vg. f *eorum* (om. e). The C. A. *ina* is from the context (cf. *haitan ina*, v. 62). The Vorlage should read αυτους and the Wulfilian text *ins*.

L. ii. 9 και αγγελος Sin B L Ξ g; και ιδου αγγελος *K latt. vg. The Gothic *ip aggilus* agrees with neither reading, but only with the isolated *angelus autem* of e. In the circumstances, there seems no reason why the Κοινη-reading should not be restored.

L. ii. 14 ευδοκιας Sin* A B* D it. vg.; ευδοκια *K Chr. The Gothic *godis wiljins* can hardly be otherwise explained than as from the Latin *bonae voluntatis*. The Greek prefix is represented by *waila-* in Gothic, e. g. ευαγγελιζεσθαι *wailamerjan*, ευφραινεσθαι *wailawisan*, ευδοκειν *waila galeikan* L. iii. 22; Mk. i. 11 (cf. also L. i. 3; x. 21); cf. also, in the Epistles, ενεργεσια *wailadeþs*, ευφημια *wailamereí*, ευλογια *wailaqiss*. The Greek should therefore be that of the Κοινη.

L. iii. 14 οι στρατευομενοι a rare reading supported by only five late minuscules. Read στρατευομενοι with *K rell., even though *þai militondans* should add yet another rare instance of *sa* without the support of the Greek article. See Bernhardt ad loc.

L. iii. 14 μηδενα διασεισητε, μηδενα συκοφαντησητε. The second μηδενα (μηδε *K rell.) only thus in Sin* H 5 min. syr. The vg. latt., f e read also *neminem . . . neque*. Since the C. A. *ni mannanhun . . . ni mannanhun* so readily explains itself as a contextual assimilation, I see no reason for seeking the support here of Sin* H min., where the assimilation is equally corrupt. I restore the *K-reading with Bernhardt.

L. v. 5 χαλασωμεν H min. pauc.; χαλασομεν K min. pauc. (Tischendorf: Soden silet); χαλασω *K it. vg. The Gothic *wairpam* is most likely contextual; there is no need to seek support from minority readings of similar origin.

L. vi. 9. Here Streitberg reads αποκτειναι with *K, with which I agree, although the Gothic *usqistjan* (*fraqistjan*, *-nan*, are characteristic renderings of απολεσαι) gave him the opportunity of reading απολεσαι with Sin B D L X 1 69 it. pler. vg. See p. 115 (L. xx. 14).

L. vi. 23 εν τοις ουρανοις B R Bas. min. e f (cf. M. v. 12); εν τῳ ουρανῳ *K rell. it. vg. *Himinam*, which occurs much more often than the singular *himina*, may be reminiscent.

L. vii. 6 ου μακραν απεχοντος αυτου D; αυτου ου μακραν απεχοντος *K; *ni fairra wisandin imma* C. A., which is probably a stylistic improvement on the exact word-order of the Κοινη. If there is any connexion with D, it will be recent.

L. vii. 15 απεδωκεν A 33 (and three others) c f; εδωκεν *K; C. A. *atgaf*, whence *reddidit* f. The C. A. rendering needs no support from the rare απεδωκεν, since there are twenty-seven passages where the simple διδοναι = *atgiban*, usually with implication of purpose or destination, as here, 'to hand over, commit to the care of'. E. g., J. xvii. 6; L. xix. 15; Mk. vi. 28.

L. vii. 19 επεμψεν αυτους Ξ (Soden Ta I^{1353} A^{1} syP); επεμψεν *K, which I propose to restore here, preferring to explain *ins* as a plausible addition by a later hand. Thus also Bernhardt.

L. ix. 28 εγενοντο P; εγενετο rell. omn. The Gothic *waurþun* is here almost a syntactical necessity. Rather than accept this solitary reading of the Bobbian palimpsest, I would suggest the latter to be derived from the Gothic: see p. 192.

L. ix. 43 ειπεν δε (Soden cites ψ H b c e f ff^{2} r): omit δε: see p. 212.

L. x. 18 πεσοντα εκ του ουρανου ' I^{1386c} af Ωρ Or Aθ Επιφ ψΚλ' (Soden); εκ του ουρανου πεσ. *K; *de caelo cadentem* f it. vg.; *descendentem de caelo* e, agreeing with the C. A. *driusandan us himina*. I propose the common reading, with Bernhardt.

L. x. 21, 23 μαθηταs αυτου. The *K-reading in each case omits αυτου, which I propose to omit from the Vorlage with Bernhardt. The interrelation of readings is puzzling. In verse 21 the addition of αυτου to the reading of *K is shared by C^{2} Γ (al 14) and the Latin c q r, the larger addition of και στραφεις . . . ειπεν (=*K) being shared by c ff^{2} i l q r δ, but not by the vg. or, which is remarkable, e f. In v. 23 αυτου is found only in U and Soden's δ30, but appears in the vg., and the Old Latin except a b e.

The C. A. *seinaim* in v. 23 is readily explained as from the common Itala reading, or as a reminiscent addition, and similarly in v. 21 or as an intrusion from v. 23. But the absence of the larger addition, in v. 21, from e (f), with the vg., and the absence of αυτου, in v. 23, from e (a b), is intriguing. In a general way, the reading of e goes to support our omission of αυτου from the text of the Vorlage. May we suppose a Palatinian text omitting και στραφεις κτλ.? The support of Sin B D L M Ξ Π 1 13 22 33 makes this by no means unreasonable, and the omission by e of αυτου in v. 23 points the same way. Codex f is not admissible as evidence; it agrees with the vg. in both passages.

L. xvi. 4 εκ τηs οικονομιαs Sin B D; om. εκ *K; *afsatjaidau us faura-gaggja* C. A. Some preposition would seem necessary in Gothic, even though absent from the Greek. Cf. Mk. i. 10.

L. xvii. 3 εαν Sin B D L X it. vg.; εαν δε (thus Bernh.) *K and *si autem*

q r; C. A. . . . *jabai*. There is nothing to show that the MS., which is mutilated at this point, did not read *ih jabai*.

L. xvii. 33 *ενεκεν εμου* Δ (+ 3 min) b c e f ff² i l q (cf. M. x. 39; xvi. 25; Mk. viii. 35): om. *K rell. vg. The Gothic *in meina* is more readily explained by the parallels or the Old Latin.

L. xix. 23 *μου το αργυριον* Sin A B L *το αργυριον μου* *K it. vg. C. A. *þata silubr mein*, which represents either reading.

L. xx. 8 *υμιν λεγω* U: *λεγω υμιν* rell. it. vg. The C. A. *izwis qiþa* is not so rare a deviation from the Greek order as to require the support of this solitary MS. The object is often made to precede the verb, even against the Greek. Cf. Bernhardt, note ad loc.

Mk. i. 10 *εκ του υδατος* Sin B D L; *απο* *K, *de* it. vg. The C. A. *us þamma watin* (not *af þamma watin*) would probably have stood even if the Vorlage had read *απο*, which I propose to substitute here for Streitberg's reading. Cf. L. xvi. 4.

Mk. ii. 27: see p. 226.

Mk. iii. 29 *αιωνιου αμαρτηματος* Sin B L Δ, *αμαρτιας* C* D, *delicti* or *peccati* it. (exc. f) vg., *κρισεως* *K f. The Κοινη text should stand here: see p. 218.

Mk. iii. 31: see p. 116.

Mk. iv. 3 *τον σπορον αυτου* F. Soden's δ 30, ε 93, and a few minuscules: om. rell. it. vg.; C. A. *fraiwa seinamma*. The addition is from L. viii. 5, and is so likely here to be from the Gothic parallel, that the adoption of the interpolation in the Vorlage seems supererogatory.

Mk. vi. 2 *οτι δυναμεις* U; *και δυναμεις* *K; C. A. *ei mahteis*. The reading *οτι* is uncertain: see v. Soden and Tischendorf. In any case, Streitberg himself provides the explanation for the Argentean rendering: *ei* is here copulative and = *jah*; cf. J. xvi. 17, and see *E.B.* § 344 note.

Mk. viii. 17 *οτι*² min 100: *ετι* *K. The C. A. *unte* is a later corruption: see p. 237.

Mk. xii. 26 *εγω ειμι* D (non d) M U Δ it. (exc. b) vg. (cf. M. xxii. 23): *εγω* *K. The addition of *im* was no doubt idiomatic.

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